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LBJ Cleared Viet Nam Speech with ADA

By VICTOR LASKY

Not generally known is the fact that President Johnson in effect "cleared" his recent speech on Viet Nam with the ADA—the ultra-liberal Americans for Democratic Action—before he delivered it at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore.

But, as far as is known, he did not "clear" it with Republican leaders in or out of Congress. And this has created considerable unhappiness among Republicans who have been staunchly supporting President Johnson's hard-line policies toward Communist aggression—in the face of outspoken Democratic opposition. GOP leaders had been led to expect that they would be adequately briefed by the President on any significant changes in foreign policy.

Instead, it was the ADA leadership which received a personal presidential briefing on what Mr. Johnson proposed to say at Baltimore. What particularly impressed the 22 ADA leaders was the President's sweeping proposal for what could be described as a vast TVA development in Southeast Asia to which the United States is prepared to contribute one billion dollars. They burst into applause when Mr. Johnson finished reading from what he called a tentative draft of his forthcoming speech.

Significant was Sen. Everett Dirksen's immediate criticism of the proposal. The Senate Republican leader has played ball with the White House on many issues. But this time the Illinoisan took his gloves off as he criticized the President's suggestion for a billion-dollar aid program to raise Southeast Asian living standards.

"Do you buy freedom for a humble people with a billion-dollar package?" Dirksen asked. "I doubt it," he added, "and I doubt also that we can preserve face and prestige with a billion-dollar package."

The billion-dollar offer, needless to say, will not deter Communist aggression. The only thing likely to bring a halt to Hanoi's incursions of her neighbors' soil is the realization that all of North Viet Nam is likely to go up into flames.

Mr. Johnson's previous position had been stated as recently as March 25. "The United States will never be second in seeking a settlement in Viet Nam that is based on an end of Communist aggression," he said. "As I have said in every part of the nation, I am ready to go anywhere at any time, and meet with anyone whenever there is promise of progress toward an honorable peace . . . We seek no more than a return to the essentials of the agreements of 1954—a reliable agreement to guarantee the independence and security of all in Southeast Asia. At present the Communists have given no sign of any willingness to move in this direction, but as they recognize the costs of their present course, and their own true interest in peace, there may come a change—if we all remain united."

But the only change came from the United States. There still isn't any indication that—as Mr. Johnson phrased it on March 13—"Hanoi is prepared or willing or ready to stop doing what it is doing against its neighbors."

The ADA, needless to say, is overjoyed by developments. Its record shows support of such positions as recognizing Red China and "reconciliation" with Castro's Cuba.

Not so overjoyed are Republican leaders. And therein lies President Johnson's major domestic problem. For the Republicans (and they include such luminaries as Bill Scranton, George Romney and Dick Nixon) intend to become increasingly vocal—and critical—on the subject of foreign policy. At long last, President Johnson—that master of "consensus"—may have given the issue-hungry Republicans something to yell about.

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FOR MORE ON THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH See Page 6.

President Johnson delivers his major speech on Viet Nam at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, with Lynda Bird and Mrs. Johnson seated nearby.

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Senate Passes School Aid Bill
Rollcall vote on page 10

House Approves Medicare Package
Rollcall vote on page 9

Violence Erupts in Appalachian Coal Fields Amid Unionizing Drive
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LBJ's Attorney General

Katzenbach Has No Faith in Law

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

From the third of last September till the 28th of this January, Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, a tall, talkative second-echelon lawyer in the Justice Department, hung suspended over the abyss of oblivion.

For those five months President Johnson hesitated to elevate Katzenbach, who had been Robert Kennedy's deputy attorney general, to the top post. Kennedy had not only recommended him, but had tried to make Katzenbach's appointment a condition under which he, Kennedy, would go quietly from the Cabinet. But Mr. Johnson would not dicker. He put Katzenbach through a 148-day novitiate or conditioning period.

How did Nick think? How did he work? Could he make the loyalty switch from the Kennedy clan to the Johnson camp? As a sort of ordeal by torment, Katzenbach danced on the thin air of executive whimsy. If he didn't make attorney general by the President's pleasure, it was back to obscurity, no name in the history books, no oil portrait on the walls of the Justice Department corridor, no brief moment of the recognition which men call fame.

Only Nick Katzenbach knows the agony of mind which accompanied that period of suspense, or knows what kind of capers he had to cut to please the giver of political immortality. But something can be surmised from the performance which the attorney general has given on the voting rights act of 1965.

The President must have wanted—and demanded—and possibly whipped into shape by methods of suspension—just the man we now behold. The profile of Katzenbach, with the initials of LBJ in the corner of the canvas, stands revealed in this bill which the attorney general drafted and presented to Congress.

Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach

What manner of man? The attorney general is a man with a chin line of expediency. The voting rights bill, he has said, is shaped to demolish the "hard core" resistance to Negro suffrage, rather than to mete out equal justice. It is drawn to punish those few states and counties which fail to fit an arbitrary federal standard. It strikes at discrimination against Negroes, but it practices discrimination against a minority of the states.

The attorney general shows a profile of heresy. He is a lawyer-politician without faith in the majesty of law. He told the Senate Judiciary Committee that "the judicial process . . . is inadequate to deal with practices so deeply rooted in the social and political structure." Not merely does he distrust Southern courts and judges, he distrusts the American judicial system. This system, as every schoolboy knows, puts the burden of proving guilt upon the prosecutor.

The Katzenbach bill goes back to an old French system which puts the burden of proving innocence upon the accused. Any state with a literacy test for its voters is presumed to have cheated unless 50 per cent of the voting-age population turned up at the polls last November. The bill further presumes that Southern courts and judges are corrupt, for it requires each culprit state to appeal its case before a special three-member court in the District of Columbia.

The attorney general shows the profile of a rank sentimentalist, an uncritical idolator of raw democracy. He believes the right to vote is a human right, not a privilege or duty of citizenship. He is known to assess an illiterate elector, or electorate, as being of the same worth to a democracy as a literate one. He is known to have expressed the opinion that persons' names, but never political propositions, should appear on the ballots.

This would seem to mean that he trusts voters to elect delegates to Constitutional Conventions, but does not trust them to decide on those propositions which have been (and will be) amendments to the Constitution. The profile here shows the inconsistency of sentimentalism, not becoming in an officer of the nation.

The attorney general is a striking figure, and a winning personality, but his public profile looks as if it were made to order at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

'Voting Rights' Measure Planned by Reds in 1956

By HENRY J. TAYLOR, Former U.S. Ambassador to Switzerland

It's astounding, but true, that the Communist Party, U.S.A., actually planned the Johnson Administration's voting rights act of 1965.

This is not to argue the merits and demerits of this bill. That's a different topic. Federal intervention may be needed, and this bill is pending. But the veil should be lifted on a fact of history, certainly unknown to our public and probably unknown even to most congressmen and senators who will vote "yea."

They will be voting a 1956 project designed in Moscow.

Soviet attention to our legislation has always been much more constant and effective than we suppose. The pen of Lee Pressman, who later confessed to having been a Communist, trails all through our initial agricultural act and the labor legislation sponsored by the original Congress of Industrial Organizations, of which Pressman was an official.

Well, the Red shadows still breathe and glow.

Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko is the Kremlin's top specialist on American affairs.

I encountered Gromyko's expertness again and again during Geneva conferences. In fact, I came to know this Red leader when his concentration on our country began a full 21 years ago. This was during the 1944 Dumbarton Oaks Conference called to design the United Nations.

He's acquainted with a surprising quantity of American political, trade union and industrial leaders on an after-hours conversational basis. Some, like Mr. Bernard Baruch, whom he respects, always have had his number, but nothing chills this already cold man in his search for leverages against our internal stability and especially our legislation.

Gromyko's bland, sphinx-like personality reminds you of a magician who comes on stage without tables or props—just a handkerchief hidden in his hand. Then for 20 minutes he pulls unexpected things out of it.

For example, in an airplane flying the Atlantic Gromyko once suddenly recited to me the foreign-born percentages in our chief trade unions and in our 12 largest cities, and then mentioned in passing that more Czechs live in Chicago than in any city except Prague.

Or listen to Gromyko on another occasion. "Mr. Taylor," he said, "what you Americans call 'law' is really a form of politics." He didn't just say that. He thinks that. Such are the notes he plays when he calls the tune for Kremlin policy inside our country.

This means Gromyko calls the tune for the Communist Party, U.S.A. In December, 1956, that party began a program which it named the "Lincoln Project." Its target date for fulfillment should interest us today—1965.

At its inception in 1956 the plan was published in Philadelphia by the respected American Flag Committee and read:

"To implement the Lincoln Project, the Communist party's Central Committee will begin to dispatch agents to 11 Southern states next month (January, 1957) to work with local party leaders in surveying 20 counties, any one of which might be ideally suited as a target for disorder early in 1965.

"This survey will continue through 1957, the Central Committee making the choice of 20 counties . . . with the final selection to be made on the estimated most favorable conditions prevailing in 1965.

"The legislation which the party will seek from Congress in 1965 has already been prepared by its legal staff. It provides for elimination of all educational requirements, including minimum literacy tests, as qualifications for voting in federal, state and local elections; voids residence with respect to counties, municipalities and other political subdivisions within a state, and establishes a system of direct federal supervision and control of the local county, state and federal elective process."

Evidently the House and Senate will pass the voting rights act of 1965 after debate and amendment. To repeat, its merits and demerits are another matter. Nevertheless, penetrating—and exposing—the Soviet's secret interest in any legislation is important to our lawmakers and our public alike. The "Lincoln Project" and the example of this bill is a revelation of the ghostly Reds' eternal presence.

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Announcing A New Paperback Sure To Be THE Political Pocket-book of 1965:

THAT MAN FROM MINNESOTA

by Richard P. Jennett

128 hard-hitting, revealing pages on:

HUBERT HUMPHREY

Powerfully written after 3½ years of research, this new paperback book is ideal for Conservative bookstores, individuals, businesses and organizations to buy in quantity at *low* prices. Humphrey is given credit for the times he has displayed admirable qualities of character. The book even fairly reports his early anti-Communism in Minnesota. But the book *also* portrays a Hubert Humphrey who grew bitter during the Depression Dust Bowl and who inadvertently absorbed *alien* "ideals" of political POWER while in college. Mussolini's emotional attack on Hitler's racism is compared to Humphrey's leadership in the so-called Civil Rights situation — and *it is noted that Government planning, regulation, subsidies and controls equals a Fascist Corporate State whether the intentions of the founder are good or evil.*

Humphrey's glib speeches promising pie-in-the-sky-someday are compared to the crowd-pleasing demagogic tirades of Mussolini. The Welfare State, with all of its false glamour and inevitable disillusion is revealed to be the original brainchild of that same Mussolini. Where is Hubert taking us in the "Great Society?" And if he succeeds LBJ in the White House, what kind of President will he be? Humphrey has published his political plans in book form. *His own words are quoted to show that he may become a one-man dictator!*

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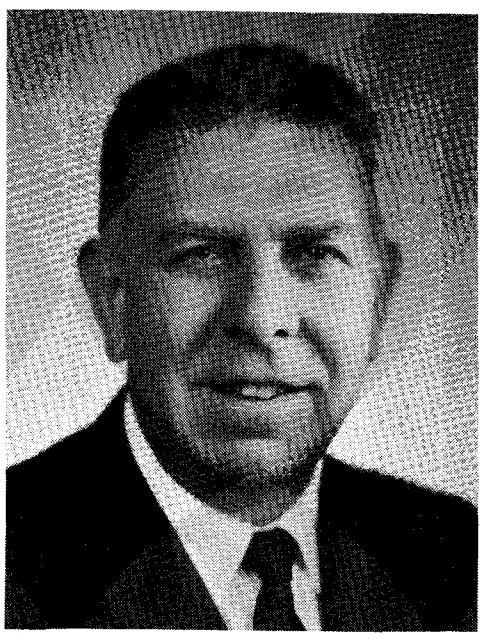
But What About the 'Radical Left'?

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

The House Committee on Un-American Activities, pushed by the Administration, is about to embark on an investigation of the so-called radical right. How far afield this probing action will go is anybody's guess.

At present, HCUA is starting out slowly and taking the easy road. The Ku Klux Klan is its present target, and there are few who will come to the defense of that organization. But this is only a first step, whether or not the members of HCUA know it.

The KKK is of significance only in scattered Southern communities. What it is accused of doing, however it may shock, violates local laws which can be brought to bear without the instrumentality of a House committee. Investigation can serve only the purpose of "educating the public," a legitimate function of congressional inquiries, but one which the liberals have shouted for years serves no legislative purpose. The liberals have forgotten their former outcry against this educational process when it was employed against Communists. Against the KKK? Well, that's a different matter.



Rep. Edwin E. Willis (D.-La.), chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

However, if we are returning to the old rules of congressional investigation, if we are once more accepting Woodrow Wilson's theory of the legislative function, then let's apply it all around. I can offer HCUA at least one suggestion if it wants to take up public education.

There is a curious organization called Americans for Democratic Action. It occupies a unique—and uniquely imporant—place in the higher and middle echelons of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration. Its members are not only numerous and influential in the federal bureaucracy, they are also scattered effectively throughout the faculties of our colleges and universities.

ADA has just run through its 18th annual convention. Still claiming to be an anti-Communist organization, it gave its shrill approval to a series of propositions which would hardly cause a ripple of surprise if published in a journal of the extreme—or Communist—left. Here is what the members of ADA stand for:

1. They want the United States to recognize Red China and to urge admission of this aggressor nation to the United Nations.

2. They want to deprive Free China of her permanent seat in the Security Council and hold "elections" to determine whether Formosa should be turned over to Red China or "admitted to the United Nations as an independent nation."

3. They call for de facto recognition of East Germany—which would mean a diplomatic break with West Germany and probably the end of the NATO alliance—and recognition of the Oder-Neisse line as the boundary of Poland. If the United States should support this latter proposal, there would be legitimate rioting in front of our embassy in West Germany.

4. They demand "universality of membership" in the United Nations, a way of bringing in any nation, whether it lives up to the charter or not. They do not extend this "universality" to South Africa, however, calling instead for full economic sanctions against that country.

5. Having, over the years, told the government and the nation exactly how to solve the problems of agriculture and price supports, they now confess that "none of us really understands the farm problems in this country."

6. Of more immediate concern is an ADA resolution in favor of a cease fire in Viet Nam, the withdrawal of U.S. forces, and the "neutralization" of the former Indochinese states. ADA, moreover, would cease all bombing of North Viet Nam in order to "facilitate" Communist acceptance of an invitation to attend a conference.

A small majority was able to push through the Viet Nam resolution. A very vocal and large minority wanted to go much farther by insisting on U.S. withdrawal if "negotiations" should fail. This minority protested that the resolution as passed was "mealy-mouthed."

This is the stand voted by an organization which includes, among its members, members of the Cabinet, sub-Cabinet level officials, and others in a position to make or affect policy.

If we are educating the public via HCUA, let's not forget the radical left. The radical left will never forget—or forgive—anyone who stands an inch to its right.

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The photos of the few pages above cannot do justice to this handy volume (pages, for instance, are one-half the size of Human Events pages). You must see for yourself. . . .

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CAPITOL CAMERA

• The Chicago *Tribune* states that 32 of the 65 Republican votes in favor of the Medicare bill came from representatives of three states, Michigan, Pennsylvania and New York: "These are the states of Governors Romney, Scranton and Rockefeller, leaders of the Republican clique which tried to stop Goldwater last year by a vicious campaign of innuendo, including the implication that they were for Social Security and that he wanted to 'tear up your Social Security cards.' These are the states where 'me-too' Republicanism is still in vogue, and the future of a Republican congressman who dares to vote with the majority of Republicans is precarious indeed."

ROCKEFELLER

• *House Democrats and Republicans who are buckling under to LBJ by voting for his "Great Society" may be angering the public more than they suspect. Columnist Richard Wilson recently wrote that he finds a "current running" against the Johnson welfare programs. It is "a slow reaction against the Johnson type of welfarism, as represented in the school, housing and medical legislation, and stimulated by the nature of the voting rights bill."*

• More than 1,700 Republicans turned out Wednesday, April 14, for a gala Phoenix testimonial to 1964 presidential standard-bearer Barry Goldwater. They cheered lustily as Goldwater's vice-presidential running-mate, William Miller, asserted: "The time will come when Barry is known as a prophet in his own country." Interrupted repeatedly by applause, Goldwater said "there is no reason why the world's greatest power should talk about negotiations" on Viet Nam. He also said he has no intention of doing nothing while "a weak-kneed, gutless Congress lets welfare programs be shoved down its throat." The Goldwater dinner was attended by GOP National Chairman Ray Bliss and Richard Nixon, both of whom had high praise for the former Arizona senator.

GOLDWATER

• *The LBJ civil rights bill will allow illiterates to vote and the LBJ immigration bill would allow mental defectives to enter the United States. Is this, asks one wag, the "Great Society"?*

• Rep. Richard Roudebush (R.-Ind.) has assailed the President's $1-billion aid plan for South and North Viet Nam: "In the first place we shouldn't be trying to buy peace and friendship. A total of $125 billion has already been spent on foreign aid since World War II, and we have more enemies and fewer friends than any nation in history. If Congress is foolish enough to authorize another $1 billion in aid for Southeast Asia, we can figure about 99 per cent of it will end up in the pockets of the Communists. Besides, our treasury is $324 billion in debt, our gold supply nearly gone and we cannot afford $1-billion giveaways."

ROUDEBUSH

• *Former President Harry S. Truman, no conservative, last week described the civil rights march from Selma to Montgomery, Ala., as "silly" and called Martin Luther King a "troublemaker." When reminded that King was a Nobel Prize winner, Truman retorted, "I didn't give it to him."*

This Week in Washington

LBJ's Viet Nam Speech

LBJ's Viet Nam speech has not gone over with the strong anti-Communists in Washington. In spite of some tough talk at the beginning, LBJ confused the issue when he came out for "unconditional discussions," thus bowing to the demands that the neutralists and the Communists have been making all along.

There were other appeasement earmarks. LBJ's aid offer, it is noted, would not only go to North Viet Nam but Red-lining Indonesia. More disturbing to the experts was the fact that LBJ felt he had to "clear it with ADA," the Americans for Democratic Action, the far-left outfit that continues to demand immediate negotiations.

Thus Lyndon (see cover) met with a number of leading ADAers in the Cabinet room to read them his speech before he went on television. According to all reports, the ADAers approved the Johnson manifesto enthusiastically.

New York *Post* columnist James Wechsler, an ADA wheel horse, reported this about the meeting: "For more than 10 minutes he read them what he called a tentative draft of a major speech and smilingly observed that he wasn't sure some of his advisers would approve it. When he had finished reading, the group burst into spontaneous applause—and conceivably its response helped persuade LBJ the moment had come for this memorable public pronouncement."

Some ADA members present were reported to have liked particularly the following largely overlooked statement in LBJ's speech: that an independent South Viet Nam must be "free from outside interference—tied to no alliance—a military base for no other country."

It is the feeling of a number of foreign policy experts that LBJ made a serious mistake by sounding this old State Department refrain that South Viet Nam must be a politically neutral country. This theme was a particular favorite of Kennedy's Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, Roger Hilsman, whose most notable contribution to the war in Viet Nam was setting the stage for Ngo Dinh Diem's overthrow.

The State Department's current spokesmen readily concede that the United States has "no desire to make South Viet Nam an ally in the military sense," but they also admit this leaves the possibility open for a "politically subverted" south.

Why, it is also asked, should LBJ be willing to guarantee a neutral South Viet Nam when the Reds won't guarantee a neutral North Viet Nam?

Whatever the intended effects of his remarks, the LBJ speech did not go over with the South Vietnamese. High ranking officials in Saigon were reportedly apprehensive over it, particularly regarding the phrase "unconditional discussions." All in all, say the experts, it will have to be ranked as a minus in LBJ's diplomacy. (For more on the Johnson speech see page 6.)

New CIA Chiefs

Military men in the Capital have nothing but high respect for John McCone's replacement as the head of the Central Intelligence Agency, Adm. William F. Raborn. Raborn was responsible for developing the Fleet Ballistic Missile System for the U.S. Navy, including the Polaris missile system. But they also say that Raborn is a novice in the intelligence field.

The man who will really run CIA, it is said, is Richard McGarrah Helms, who has been with the CIA since its inception in 1947. Helms will be Raborn's deputy. Old-time intelligence experts express strong reservations about Helms, who, they claim, became known as a "hatchet" man for attempting to oust some tough anti-Communists from their jobs.

Helms, who handed covert operations for the CIA, is said to have funnelled tons of money into the world-wide Socialist network, having promoted with CIA funds two Socialist conferences in the 1950s held in Rangoon and Rome.

He is also considered a supporter of State Department policy planner Walt Whitman Rostow, an egghead Socialist.

A tall, slender "diplomatic" type, Helms has also had the distinction of being bawled out by Gen. Curtis LeMay at Offutt Air Force Base in Nebraska several years ago. LeMay, directing his remarks at both the CIA and Helms, bluntly told Helms that "you never put any pressure on the Soviets."

Some intelligence men say Helms is not so bad as his detractors insist. There is one report that he "differed" with those on the Bay of Pigs Operation—though just how he differed is not public knowledge.

At any rate, as Raborn's deputy Helms is a man who bears watching.

SNCC

Nicholas Katzenbach's statement that Communists don't influence the civil rights movement hasn't prevented columnists Evans and Novak from detailing just such influence. Recently the columnists took out after the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

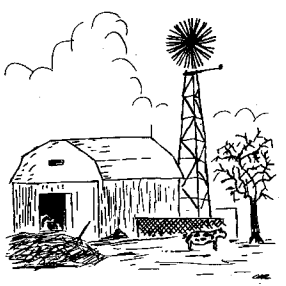
SNCC's legal arm, noted the columnists, "is virtually the same as the National Lawyers Guild, long-time followers of the Communist line . . ." (The guild is also cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.)

Copies of the *National Guardian* "which currently spews out the Chinese Communist line" are "standard equipment at SNCC field offices. SNCC leaders have signed testimonials praising the *Guardian*."

More ominous, said the reporters, "are the ties between SNCC and Communist youth groups abroad." (For more on SNCC see page 12.)

Johnson's Farm Program

Charles B. Shuman, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation, has called the Administration's proposals for farm legislation "a hoax designed to trap both farmers and consumers." LBJ's farm program, said Shuman, "would make farmers more dependent than ever on government subsidies for their livelihood, and at the same time raise the price of food to consumers, especially those with low incomes."



Shuman tagged it "a market manipulator's dream" and a device which gives the secretary of agriculture more power to set price supports, determine the amounts of rice, wool, soybeans and other commodities that farmers would be allowed to produce, and set the level of the 'bread tax' and the 'rice tax.'"

While some newspapers have described the program as an attempt to return to a free market, nothing could be further from the truth. This is particularly so as regards the wheat and rice certificate program.

Under this system, put into effect in 1963, farmers are given certificates for that portion of their crop to be used domestically. Processors, such as millers, are required to purchase these certificates along with the wheat.

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• *Big Labor's constant efforts to raise workmen's wages and fringe benefits are not always confined to the "little guy." According to Scripps-Howard writer Robert Dietsch, the average labor union president is 64 years old, has served 15 years in his post, earns $34,695 in salary plus an additional $7,750 in expenses and has 433,800 persons in his union. The Teamsters' Jimmy Hoffa is the highest paid; he got $91,208 last year.*

But it is not the free market, but the secretary of agriculture who sets the price of the certificates which the processors must buy.

The new Johnson program promises to raise the price of these certificates far above the previous price and the processors will pass this increase along to the consumer. Department of Agriculture officials admit the price of bread and rice will go up at least "a few pennies" a pound. Says Shuman: "The wheat certificate plan proposed by President Johnson apparently envisions U.S. consumers paying twice as much for wheat as foreign consumers."

The President's proposals would also raise maximum price supports for domestically consumed wheat and rice to 100 per cent of parity from its present 90 per cent and provide graduated supports for rice and wool. In short, the program puts Uncle Sam more in the farm program than it has ever been before.

Agriculture officials argue, however, that the program will save $200 million a year. Critics point out that Freeman says the same thing every year, but that the cost of his farm program increases every year. This fiscal year Freeman underestimated the cost of his farm program by a whopping $1.6 billion, a figure Congress forked over to the Department of Agriculture in a supplemental appropriation earlier this year.

Anti-Poverty War

A subcommittee of the House Education and Labor Committee, considering President Johnson's $1.5-billion anti-poverty request for fiscal 1966, heard charges last week that the program's payroll in Chicago "sounds like the fund-raising committee for the Democratic city organization."

The Rev. Lynward Stevenson, a Negro leader who heads the 40,000-member Woodlawn citizens' group in Chicago, said the funds are turning the city's poor into "well-fed fawning pets" of Mayor Richard Daley's city machine.

The Rev. Mr. Stevenson also accused the anti-poverty director of refusing representation and attention to independent groups. Rep. Ogden Reid, liberal New York Republican, complimented Stevenson for "your frankness" and testimony that "seems to have the ring of truth."

Stevenson read a long list of names of persons he said are employed by the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity and are also well known in the Chicago Democratic organization. He asserted that "the records are full of straight political patronage for city hall people.

While some Chicago citizens denied Stevenson's charges, Sargent Shriver, head of the "war on poverty," conceded to the subcommittee that politics-playing and excessive salaries had been found in the program, though he felt these were exaggerated.

Federal Mail Snooping

Sen. Carl T. Curtis (R.-Neb.), a member of the Judiciary Committee, has taken up where Rep. Durward Hall (R.-Mo.) left off on the issue of the government's opening of first-class mail. (See *Human Events* last week, page 5).

In a recent judiciary hearing, said Curtis, Postmaster General John A. Gronouski admitted that postal employes have been turning over mail of delinquent taxpayers to the Internal Revenue Service, which shows no reluctance to open such privileged correspondence. While Gronouski claims this practice was discontinued in August, IRS Commissioner Sheldon Cohen states that the seizure practice continues but now requires advance approval of the commissioner.

Cohen, furthermore, says he knows of at least 30 letter-opening incidents in the last two years. Post Office officials have only admitted to 14.

Says Curtis: This is "a situation so shocking as to defy belief. No warrant is used in these seizures; there is no recourse open to the citizen who is subjected to this police-state disregard of civil rights. . . If the officials cannot be restrained by the courts from further such unconstitutional actions, then the people of the nation must act through the Congress."

FBI's Crime Statistics

Sociologists and psychologists are going all out in an attack on the FBI's crime statistics—figures which have seldom been questioned in the past. Why this sudden interest in demolishing this data?

Miriam Ottenberg, chief crime reporter for the Washington *Evening Star*, points to the answer when she indicates that sociologists and those engaged in similar work feel their professional reputations are in danger unless they can prove that crime is not so high as the FBI says.

For the past decade, she explains, quoting a sociologist, an increasing number of offenders have been put on probation or sent to psychiatric clinics rather than to jail or released early on parole. This, of course, has largely been the result of the work of psychiatrists and sociologists who have long campaigned for easier treatment of law breakers.

Yet, Miss Ottenberg points out, the FBI's index of serious crime has risen simultaneously with the increasingly lenient treatment of criminals.

Moreover, says Miss Ottenberg, the FBI's crime statistics clearly demonstrate that poverty and deprivation are no longer the sole, or necessarily the primary, reason for crime. This strikes a hard blow at the reasoning behind much of LBJ's "war-on-poverty" measures as well. The FBI statistics, in fact, reveal that crime is sharply on the increase among juveniles from middle-class homes.

Bobby's Mountaineering

Bobby Kennedy's attempt to make political hay out of climbing Mount Kennedy in Canada may actually have backfired. Supposedly, the Canadians had proposed that the ascent be a joint venture between the United States and Canada, but Bobby's group (sponsored by the National Geographic Society and the Boston Museum of Science) went ahead on its own. It also went early "to forestall any other group from making the climb."

Aside from damaging U.S.-Canadian relations, Bobby also flopped with some genuine mountain climbers.

Members of the Explorers Club dinner in Manhattan, recently treated to a five-minute color film showing Bobby's conquest of Mount Kennedy, burst into derisive laughter at the New York senator.

Richard Steel, a director of the Explorer's Club, was quoted in *Time* magazine as saying: "When you see Bobby being carried 8,000 feet up the mountain by helicopter, then being carried the rest of the way between two professional climbers, a certain amount of gibing is to be expected."

As one veteran climber put it, the group accompanying Kennedy "could get an 85-year-old woman to the top and back."

• *Cook County Republicans scored a significant triumph earlier this month when they captured control of the city of Berwyn, a Democratic stronghold for many years. Republicans had not elected a mayor since 1929 and Democrats controlled the city council 13-to-2 and all the other city offices. When the votes were tallied, Republican George E. Dolezal had been elected mayor 15,559 to 11,473 over his Democratic opponent. The Republicans also won six of eight aldermanic seats being contested and elected the city treasurer and three township auditors.*

CAPITOL CAMERA

• *The radical Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy has praised LBJ's willingness to enter "unconditional discussions" with the North Vietnamese Reds. A statement issued by SANE's co-chairmen, Dr. Benjamin Spock and Dr. H. Stuart Hughes, said that LBJ had "regained the moral initiative" for the United States.*

• With the arrest April 5 of two former Army "buddies" on charges of selling U.S. defense secrets to Russia, Sen. Milton R. Young (R.-N.D.) warned: "I don't know of anything more important than to be eternally vigilant as to Communist activities in this country." Sen. Young said that "Russia's main objective remains the conquest and domination of the world and this is still going forward unabated."

YOUNG

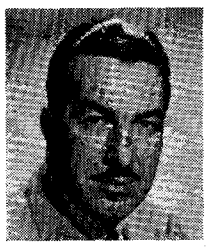
• *No government controls with Medicare? Under the terms of the bill recently passed by the House, physicians can only prescribe drugs listed in the U.S. Pharmacopoeia or other formularies. Since acceptance for publication in these manuals is very slow, many new drugs coming on the market could not be prescribed by doctors coming under the Medicare program.*

• Sen. Karl Mundt (R.-S.D.) has charged there is a double standard of morality among the United States' friends as well as foes. If anyone had any doubts of this, he said recently, the revelation that the United States used tear gas in Viet Nam was proof. "When it was revealed that tear gas—a weapon which is not lethal—was used, friends and enemies alike jumped all over the United States for allowing its use," Mundt said. "When the news came out that a Communist terrorist had bombed the American embassy in Saigon, killing and injuring many civilians, a good many of these same critics kept their silence . . ."

MUNDT

• *Former Republican National Chairman Dean Burch is considering a race for the House seat now held by Morris K. Udall (D.-Ariz.). Barry Goldwater and Sen. Thruston Morton (R.-Ky.) are reportedly among those urging Burch to take on Udall.*

• LBJ's War on Poverty, despite the rave notices from many liberal quarters, isn't pleasing everyone. Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.), who has been fighting a poverty war of his own in raising money to pay off a $46,000 libel judgment, had this to say: "In far too many communities, giant fiestas of political patronage have been encouraged. On both the state and local levels, the 'war on poverty' administrative mechanisms have been seduced by politicians who have used the reservoir of poverty funds to feed their political hacks at the trough of mediocrity."



POWELL

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Johnson's Viet Nam Speech:

'Take a Billion or I'll Brain You'

From the Chicago *Tribune*

Mr. Johnson's speech was a curious concoction. He started out talking about the war in Viet Nam. He wound up talking about the "war on poverty," which in this particular context began to assume global dimensions, with an offer of one billion dollars to put TVAs and REAs in Southeast Asia.

The first part of Mr. Johnson's address was a commendable expression of American resolution. He said the United States would not flag in the fight to keep South Viet Nam out of the hands of the Communists and that there would be no defeat, retreat, or withdrawal. He had some harsh remarks about Red China's activity in goading on Communist North Viet Nam's aggression.

The President did not try to sugarcoat the fact that the American response had toughened recently, with heavy air attacks into Communist territory above the 17th parallel. We have power, he said, and "we will use it."

This is the kind of language Communists can understand—probably the only kind they can understand. Mr. Johnson seemed to offer assurance that he had not been sucked in by the propaganda of the commentators and clergymen and professors and certain of his own party followers that appeasement was the only course and that we should cut and run once more.

But then the President shifted gears and offered "unconditional discussions" toward a negotiated settlement. There were no pre-conditions. He did not ask the Communists first to call off their war or disavow their purpose, which is conquest.

Then came the usual salvationist content we may expect in any Johnson speech. He saw the lions and the lambs lying down together in Southeast Asia. As an enticement to peaceful reconciliation, the billion dollars in prospective aid was dangled in front of the good people and the villains alike, while Mr. Johnson dwelt fondly on the wonder-working gimmicks of the New Deal and the "Great Society," which could be transported to lands halfway around the world.

A Tennessee Valley Authority along the Mekong River would rise with the help of Mr. Johnson's billion, and an Asian Rural Electrification Administration would light the darkness.

Some Republican skeptics, and even a Democrat or two, said baldly that this was an overture to buy peace and that it would not work. In fact, if war is to be the preliminary to massive infusions of American foreign aid, the proposal might prove to be less of an incentive to peace than an encouragement to further wars in other regions just as backward and poverty-stricken as Southeast Asia. If war earns a ticket on the gravy train, why not a little shooting to attract big-hearted Lyndon's interest?

We are not aware that history offers a single instance to demonstrate that the Johnson formula of a purchased peace has ever bought off an invader. When the Ottoman Turks turned up at the gates of Vienna, they were not turned back by a promise from the defenders, "Go home and we will reward you with a shipload of shish kebab." Nor did Charles Martel deal with the Moors by taking the field at Tours with an offer of a few fat bucks if they'd just retire across the Pyrenees.

Mr. Johnson will discover that the way to deal with Communist imperialism is by showing a good left hook and a strong right cross, not by riffling bills like a bank teller in his cage.

□ □ □

ALL THAT'S LEFT—"U.S. Treasury officials are expressing some puzzlement over the sudden appearance of large supplies of pennies which last year were in such great shortage that people were asked to break open their piggy banks to help. The answer is simple. One-cent pieces are all the public has left after digging deep to pay their unexpectedly larger income tax bills."—From the Rockford (Ill.) *Register-Republic*

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NOT THE NATURE OF THE BEAST

Federal Government Abuses 'Eminent Domain'

By REP. WALTER ROGERS (D.-Tex.)

The basic right of private ownership of property is being seriously challenged. The method used affects only a few people at a time, hence the subject has received little publicity. It is the exercise of the right of eminent domain by the federal government.

Eminent domain has been defined by the Supreme Court as "the right or power to take private property for public use." More precisely, it is the right of the nation or the state or the sovereign power, or of those to whom the power has been lawfully delegated, to condemn private property for public use, and to appropriate the ownership and possession of such property for such use on paying the owner a due compensation to be ascertained according to law. This right of power in the sovereign to take private property is supposedly justified on the existence of a common necessity and interest of the whole community that overrides the basic right of the individual.

The exercise of the right of eminent domain by the sovereign is usually and commonly called "condemnation." I was taught in law school that condemnation was a harsh procedure because it was the action of the all-powerful government taking property from a private citizen without his consent. It is true that the private citizen is entitled to just compensation; however, the owner of the property might not want to sell it for any purpose.

Rep. Walter Rogers (D.-Tex.)

Since such action by the government was unusual and harsh, it was generally taught that there must be a present need for the use of the property for public purposes; a present need or necessity that completely overshadowed the rights of the individual owner.

In recent years there has been a marked change in the thinking of government officials on this subject. A school of thought has developed on the theory that "anticipated" needs of the government should be ample justification for taking private property from a private citizen.

In other words, if government officials think that the government might need some land for highways, reservoirs, building sites, recreation purposes, military establishments or any other purposes in the future, condemnation proceedings would be justified to take the property and hold it in government ownership until a need arose.

This is in direct conflict with the basic proposition that there must be a present public need and necessity for the property. However, this conflict does not deter the government-minded bureaucrats, many of whom have been raised in government by forebears who were in government, and have never had to meet a payroll or past due rent in their lives.

An excellent example of the wrongs that can occur under such thinking took place within the shadow of the Capitol. Some years ago government officials decided that a new airport site was needed near Washington. They chose what was called "the Burke Site" in northern Virginia near the Potomac River and very close to the Capital. They condemned this land, ran landowners off the land whose families had occupied it for some 200 years.

This property was then held by the government without being used for airport purposes or any other purpose. It was subsequently determined that a grave mistake had been made and that an airport could not be properly located at this site.

The government officials then moved further up the Potomac and chose a place near Chantilly, Va. (which is the present location of Dulles International Airport). They started condemnation proceedings against the landowners in that area. Some of the landowners at the Chantilly site were the identical landowners who had been kicked off of their land at the Burke site. They told the government that they would be most pleased to trade their Chantilly land to the government for the land that had been taken away from them at Burke, or that they would repurchase the land at Burke from which they had been ejected at the same price that they had been paid. The government officials advised them that this could not be done, even though the Burke site had never been used for the purpose for which it was condemned.

These citizens, who were being ejected from land which they owned as private owners twice in a few short years by their own government, were told by government officials that the land at the Burke site had increased in value due to the expansion of the city of Washington and its environs, and that if they wanted their former homes it would be necessary that they pay the federal government a profit. Several of us in the Congress tried to correct this situation but we were overruled.

We are presently undertaking another movement to put a stop to federal bureaucracy trampling on the rights of individual citizens in this manner. We hope to be successful this time.

□ □ □

SHRIVER FOR GOVERNOR?—The Boston *Herald* reports that top Maryland Democrats hope to run Sargent Shriver for governor of the Free State in 1966. Shriver, director of both the Peace Corps and the War on Poverty, until recently called Chicago his home.

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Big Labor's 'Ethical' Practices

By ALICE WIDENER

In May, 1929, after a leadership electionin the Communist Party, U.S.A., had turned out to Joseph Stalin's dissatisfaction, the Bolshevik boss summoned his American henchmen to Moscow. There he declared the victorious American candidate, Jay Lovestone, to be the loser, though he had won by a 90 per cent majority.

"In this case," declared Stalin, "the minority is the majority." The defeated William Z. Foster was installed by Stalin as head of the CPUSA.

Two recent events involving honest and democratic procedure in labor union matters here at home are somewhat different from the bygone Stalinist incident but are similarly highhanded and reprehensible.

Last November, the International Union of Electrical Workers held an election for president through balloting by mail to Washington, D.C. After the ballots were allegedly counted, it appeared that the hot-tempered, insolent James B. Carey had been re-elected to office as president of IUE.

This month, however, the Labor Department reported after an investigation that there had been a "miscount of ballots" cast by the IUE members and "false reporting of the result by the trustees." There was a 25,000 gap between the result counted by the IUE trustees and the result counted by the Labor Department. The victorious candidate for president of IUE was not Carey but Paul Joseph Jennings. The real count was 55,159 for Carey; 78,475 for Jennings; 257 ballots void.

Frank M. Kleiler, director, U.S. Office of Labor Management and Welfare-Pension Reports, stated that "instead of winning the election by 2,193 votes, as reported by the trustees, Carey lost the election by 23,316 votes." So in this labor union case—until it was exposed by the U. S. Department of Labor—the majority became the minority! Thanks to this exposure, Carey has resigned.

Does this mean, in all justice, that Paul Jennings automatically became duly elected president of the International Union of Electrical Workers? Ah, no! What's a simple matter of honest voting in present day labor union affairs made fantastically complicated by congressional failure to subject Big Labor to the same rules of honesty and decency as are applied to other sectors of our society?

Neither the Labor Department's findings nor the Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959 are what is called "self-executing." At this writing, Jennings has not been declared president of IUE; also at this time it appears that no legal punitive action can be taken against the IUE trustees unless the U.S. attorney decides to prosecute.

Last month in Manhattan there was another labor union situation more characteristic of a terrorist dictatorship than a peaceful democracy. For a day, the taxi drivers allegedly went out on a "strike." Naively, most New Yorkers had believed a strike to be a work stoppage by union members for real or alleged grievances.

Not so, we discovered. The taxi drivers there are not unionized. But the ambitious Harry Van Arsdale, boss of the New York Electrical Workers Union, believes the taxi drivers should be unionized by his group. And so he demanded the drivers go out on a one-day strike, though several years ago they had voted against forming a union.

To enforce this arbitrarily ordered "strike" by non-unionized workers, the N.Y. Electrical Workers Union sent goons, strong-arm men, and rough, tough pickets to halt any taxis in operation, to threaten or beat the drivers, to hurl bricks through taxi windows as the cars drove along crowded streets, to splash the cars with paint.

After three goons had been arrested for assaulting a driver with courage enough to try to earn a day's pay at the wheel of a cab, they were merely "admonished" by the presiding judge in court and dismissed without penalty.

To date, the New York taxi drivers have not voted on whether they wish to be unionized in general, or by the electrical workers in particular. But the "show of strength" by the Electrical Workers Union was such that many drivers now live in fearful apprehension of another "strike" called by labor union organizers who never drove a taxi in their lives and know little or nothing about the practical problems of operating a cab in a city with more than eight million inhabitants.

Will the taxi drivers be able to vote for or against joining a union by secret ballots honestly counted? Are Big Labor bosses George Meany and Walter Reuther sincere in saying that the ethical practices code in the AFL-CIO constitution is binding on all its affiliates? To judge by recent events in Washington, D.C., and New York City, the prevailing labor union ethics in voting appear to be more like those in a terroristic dictatorship than in a free country.

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GAS WAR—"The Communists are criticizing our side for using non-poisonous gas against their guerrilla raiders in Viet Nam. Would they prefer bullets?"—From the Indianapolis *Star*

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Rifle Fire and Dynamite Blasts

Violence in Kentucky Mine Areas In Wake of New Unionizing Drive

By VICTOR RIESEL

Harlan, Ky.: Once this area was nicknamed "Bloody Harlan." That was a long time ago and only those who remember Fatty Arbuckle and the coming of the movie talkies will recall this appellation in this tiny corner of Appalachia.

But now things are getting rough again in this mining country ranging up north to Hazard some 55 miles distant. As you drive down and talk to the miners you hear reports of an unreported civil war.

There are gunfire and dynamiting and assaults. Swift caravans carry hundreds of pickets, seeking out coal diggers who work hundreds of non-union mines.

All this follows in the wake of a new unionizing drive launched last January by the fabled United Mine Workers (UMW), whose national headquarters in Washington has warned its people against violence.

But up Hazard way on March 3, Ernest Creech, father of 10 children, was shot in the back by someone with a high-powered rifle. Creech died as he attempted to crack through the picket line at the Leatherwood No. 1 Mine of the Blue Diamond Coal Co.

The state police arrested 12 United Mine Workers and charged them with being accessories to murder. They're awaiting trial.

A few weeks earlier, here in the Harlan area, pickets shut down "truck mines"—so called because they haul their coal to the railhead in trucks.

Not long afterwards, dynamite was hurled from a speeding car. It exploded at the entrance to a non-union pit at High Splint. On the previous day the home of Claude Blackburn, a non-union member, was bombed. His porch and windows were shattered.

Thus it has been sporadically ever since. One non-union coal digger in Perry County was thrown into a flaming barn. Others have been beaten by roving bands of pickets numbering anywhere from 25 to 90.

There's fear here. One does not need to remember the old "bloody" days. Only as recently as 1962 one man was killed and some 20 men were injured. Back in 1959 two men who worked for non-union small mines were killed and 50 injured.

But there's more to this war than rifles and dynamite sticks. Hundreds of millions of dollars are at stake. I've driven through the Kentucky mine fields and from Chattanooga to Tracy City. Everywhere one encounters small mines whose owners can't afford to pay the union rate of $124.17 for a 37.4 hour week—and a 40 cents-a-ton union tax for its welfare and pension fund.

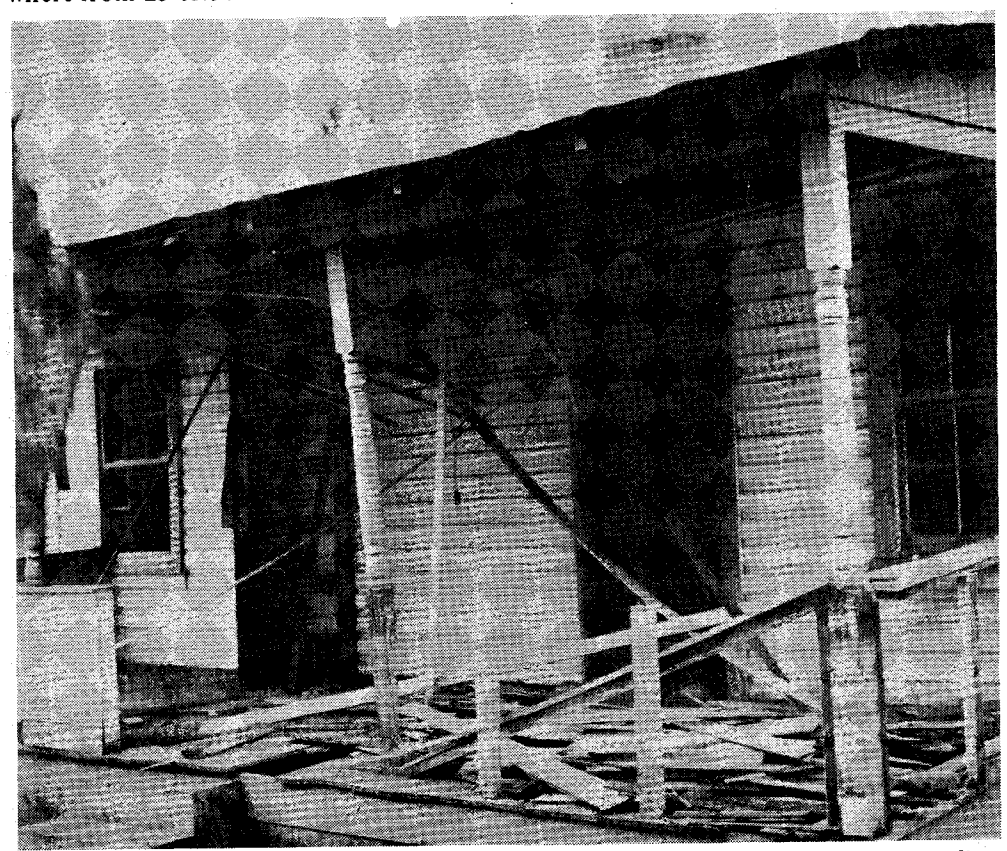
In some areas such as the districts north of Chattanooga the small strip mines are not being worked. Familes are on relief. Children run about barefooted—and not for the love of the soil. Their parents get surplus foods from the government. Those mines could operate and many of the idle men could earn from $90 to $100 a week. But the United Mine Workers has forced them to shut down.

There are some 5,000 small mines which are operating non-union. The pit owners united and call themselves the National Independent Coal Operators Assn. They are the targets of the UMW unionizing drive.

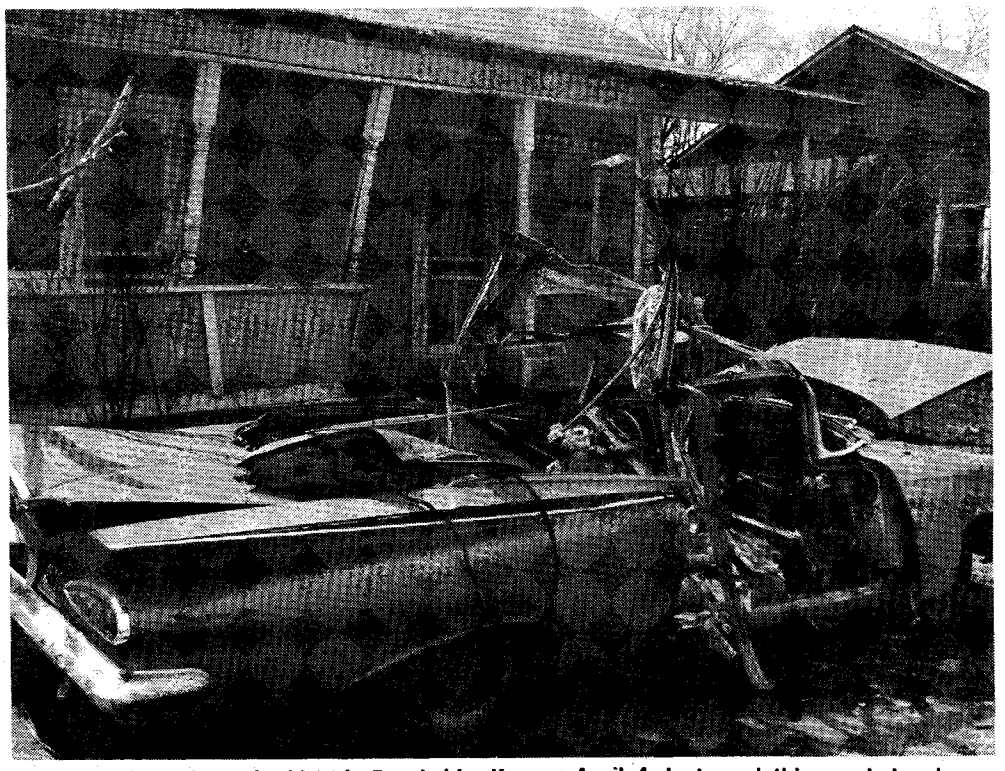
The Independents are resisting and it may be tough going for the union built by Old King Coal himself—the 85-year-old John L. Lewis. The Independents argue that signing with the UMW, now headed by W.A. (Tony) Boyle, would put them out of business. They say they can't go higher than the $18 a day they now pay their non-union miners.

They argue that since their profit is 30 cents a ton, how can they pay 40 cents tax to the union's welfare and pension fund?

They warn that if they close up, more than 100,000 coal diggers will be thrown out of work. This would end total annual revenues of $480 million.



This five-room frame house in Ages Hollow, Ky., was extensively damaged by dynamiting in February. It was rented by a man who worked for a non-union coal company.



A pre-dawn dynamite blast in Brookside, Ky., on April 4 destroyed this car belonging to an employe of the non-union Kentucky-Jellico Coal Co.

It could wreak more devastation on this sector of Appalachia. Scores of small cities would be cut off from taxes and trade growing out of the income earned by owners and miners from the small non-automated mines.

These cities now may not be booming, but they are zooming along fine. There is Pikeville, for example. Six years ago half its work force was jobless. Today Pikeville merchants and nearby mines seek more work hands.

So the Independents say what would be the sense in spending over a billion dollars to pull Appalachia out of its depression, if they are forced to close up and throw 100,000 coal diggers on the jobless lists.

But the tradition-steeped UMW is not a union to back away from a drive which is launched under the legendary Lewis slogan of "Organize the Unorganized."

It looks like a hot summer in the cool mountains.

(Distributed 1965 by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

Handout No Substitute for Hand-Up

By PAUL HARVEY

In the Talmud's teaching, poverty is no virtue. You will find very few Jewish people on relief.

A Jewish father is expected to train his child to do something. Otherwise, if that child ever resorts to stealing, the father is responsible.

There was, in the days of Jesus, a religious sect known as the Ebyon. The Ebionites elected for themselves "the simple life," a life of austerity. They were not poor. They were people of property who chose to live simply. But the Talmud teaches that for a father to fail to teach his child to earn a living is morally the same as teaching the child to steal—for that might be the inevitable result.

Recently, Rabbi Richard Hirsch, commenting on our government's welfare efforts, cautioned that material aid alone will not eradicate poverty. He says, "In an affluent society, the poor man lives in another world. Going into his other world and materially improving it —without improving him—**will avail us nothing."**

Similarly, it is remembered that Christ did not preoccupy himself with getting people out of the slums. He walked the squalid streets from end to end getting the slums out of the people.

In the 11th and 12th centuries, the Jewish physician-philosopher, Moses Maimonides, taught that there are eight degrees—eight steps—in helping indigent persons.

The first or lowest of these is the handout.

The highest—the most meritorious of all—is to assist the indigent person to earn an honest livelihood.

Rabbi Frederic Doppelt, a modern Jewish scholar, says, "Just federal dollars given to the poverty-stricken could do more harm than good . . . if it increases individual dependency instead of contributing to increased individual independence."

The dean of the University of Chicago's School of Social Service Administration is Alton A. Linford. Dean Linford calls public aid, as presently administered, "a cruel and punitive device."

Well-meaning Uncle Sam now maintains eight million individuals on public assistance rolls. Presumably, we are "tiding them over" until they can become self-supporting. Actually, we are doing no such thing. We are removing any inducement for them to help themselves and are, in fact, perpetuating their poorness.

Even Sen. Robert Kennedy calls our government's ballooning welfare efforts "complete chaos."

Harry Caudill of Whitesburg, Ky., wrote the book *Night Comes to the Cumberlands*, which did much to focus public attention on the depressed Appalachia area.

He says the area faces the same problems as 50 years ago and the President's proposed billion-dollar aid program "is not going to solve those problems."

Mr. Caudill says, "The first and most important thing that should be done in Appalachia is to educate those people to do something besides mine coal."

So we can see that the circle is now complete: Our contemporary commentators have returned to social-economic fundamentals espoused by the most ancient Hebrew scholars—the handout is no substitute for a hand-up.

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'Socialism' Is the Quickest Way to Spell 'Great Society'

By WALTER TROHAN

It has become obvious, with the passage of Medicare by the House and aid to education by the Senate, that the quickest way to spell the "Great Society" is "socialism."

No other President has pressed and passed as much socialism in so short a space of time as President Johnson, and there is more to come. Poverty, Appalachia, and the rest are accelerating the welfare state, which is socialism whether by instalment or wholesale.

The Medicare program approved by the House carries a $4 billion price tag, which is a good-sized bill for the big pill for the aged. There is another $2 billion for expanded Social Security payments and larger relief payments in the same prescription.

This will be only the beginning because once a country embarks on such a welfare or Socialistic program, there is virtually no avenue for retreat. It is not sure that Medicare will be good for the aged or for the country, but it is a step toward socialized medicine.

If the program works, even briefly, it will be a powerful argument for socialized medicine. If it doesn't work, it will be said that it is necessary to bring all medicine under regimentation before Medicare can work. Medicare was conceived as a way to win the votes of senior citizens, who were generally Republicans. It won't take long for politicians to seize upon socialized medicine as another way to win votes.

The Medicare bill does provide some checks on doctors' fees, which is the beginning of federal control. Although proponents of Medicare deny that doctors are destined to become regimented servants of the state rather than free practicioners of the art of healing, the world trend is toward socialized medicine and America is not bucking the general trend toward socialism.

The program is being sold as "free" or largely so. It won't be free. It will have to be paid for, one way or another. It will be paid for by higher Social Security taxes to begin with, but will undoubtedly have to tap general taxes in time.

Social Security payments began at $30 a year per employe in 1937, but will reach $369 a year by 1987, if not sooner, with employers contributing a like amount. The $30-a-year contribution by employes, matched by employers, was to have created large reserves, but did not. Nor did subsequent boosts in contributions by employes and employers. The only reserves are a mess of I.O.U.s because Social Security taxes have been paid into the treasury directly and because benefits have been costly.

The $369 cost per employe and the $369 per employer is a goodly sum for Social Security. Much of it will go to relieve older citizens of medical expenses, but many of them don't pay that much now. Once they get "free" medical care, they might be inclined to take advantage of it and put excessive and unnecessary demands on the time of doctors and facilities, including hospitals.

The Medicare program seems to have attacked everything but the problem of doctors. Medical schools can turn out a limited number of qualified doctors a year. One of the largest turns out only 200. How more are to be turned out without lowering standards and cutting training has not been worked out.

The medical program could be defeated by an excess of patient demands and by a shortage of competent doctors. If the government should tamper with standards and expand "free" medical care, we could all be losers.

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DIFFERENT INFLUENCES—With President Lyndon B. Johnson politically committed to help the labor union bosses bring about repeal of Taft-Hartley Act Section 14b that allows states to enact right-to-work laws, what happened recently in the territory of Guam appears significant. The island's legislature passed a right-to-work law, which would have given workers freedom to hold their jobs whether or not they chose to belong to labor unions. But the island's governor, Manuel F. L. Guerrero, vetoed it. The significant thing is that the governor of Guam is not elected by the people. He holds office by appointment of the President of the United States. Thus, his action to deprive the people of a basic right, given them by their elected representatives, can only reflect pressures from Washington.—From the Chattannoga *News Free Press*

□ □ □

CONTEST—Prominent Russian newspaper announces that it is running a contest for the best political joke. First prize is 20 years.—From the *Union Camp Digester*.

House Vote on Medicare

Below is the 313-to-115 rollcall vote by which the House passed the Administration's Medicare and Social Security package. It carries an estimated first year cost of $6 billion. The Senate Finance Committee will now hold hearings on the measure before sending it to the Senate floor for a vote.

FOR THE BILL—313

Democrats For

Adams, Wash.
Addabbo, N. Y.
Albert, Okla.
Anderson, Tenn.
Annunzio, Ill.
Ashmore, S. C.
Aspinall, Colo.
Bandstra, Iowa
Barrett, Pa.
Beckworth, Tex.
Bingham, N. Y.
Blatnik, Minn.
Boggs, La.
Boland, Mass.
Bolling, Mo.
Bonner, N. C.
Brademas, Ind.
Brooks, Tex.
Brown, Calif.
Burke, Mass.
Burton, Calif.
Byrne, Pa.
Callan, Neb.
Cameron, Calif.
Carey, N. Y.
Celler, N. Y.
Chelf, Ky.
Clark, Pa.
Clevenger, Mich.
Cohelan, Calif.
Conyers, Mich.
Cooley, N. C.
Corman, Calif.
Craley, Pa.
Culver, Iowa
Daddario, Conn.
Daniels, N. J.
Dawson, Ill.
De La Garza, Tex.
Delaney, N. Y.
Dent, Pa.
Denton, Ind.
Diggs, Mich.
Dingell, Mich.
Donohue, Mass.
Dow, N. Y.
Dowdy, Tex.
Dulski, N. Y.
Duncan, Ore.
Dyal, Calif.
Edmondson, Okla.
Edwards, Calif.
Evans, Colo.
Everett, Tenn.
Evins, Tenn.
Fallon, Md.
Farbstein, N. Y.
Farnsley, Ky.
Farnum, Mich.
Fascell, Fla.
Feighan, Ohio
Flood, Pa.
Fogarty, R. I.
Foley, Wash.
Ford, William, Mich.
Fountain, N. C.
Fraser, Minn.
Friedel, Md.
Fulton, Tenn.
Gallagher, N. J.
Garmatz, Md.
Gettys, S. C.
Giaimo, Conn.
Gibbons, Fla.
Gilbert, N.Y.
Gilligan, Ohio
Gonzalez, Tex.
Grabowski, Conn.
Gray, Ill.
Green, Ore.
Green, Pa.
Greigg, Iowa
Grider, Tenn.
Griffiths, Mich.
Hagen, Calif.
Haley, Fla.
Hamilton, Ind.
Hanley, N. Y.
Hanna, Calif.
Hansen, Iowa
Hansen, Wash.
Hardy, Va.
Harris, Ark.
Hathaway, Maine
Hawkins, Calif.
Hays, Ohio
Hechler, W. Va.
Helstoski, N. J.
Henderson, N. C.
Herlong, Fla.
Hicks, Wash.
Holifield, Calif.
Holland, Pa.
Howard, N. J.
Hull, Mo.
Hungate, Mo.
Huot, N. H.
Ichord, Mo.
Irwin, Conn.
Jacobs, Ind.
Jennings, Va.
Joelson, N. J.
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Okla.
Karsten, Mo.
Karth, Minn.
Kastenmeier, Wis.
Kee, W. Va.
Kelly, N. Y.
Keogh, N. Y.
King, Calif.
King, Utah
Kirwan, Ohio
Kluczynski, Ill.
Krebs, N. J.
Landrum, Ga.
Leggett, Calif.
Long, Md.
Love, Ohio
McCarthy, N. Y.
McDowell, Del.
McFall, Calif.
McGrath, N. J.
McVicker, Colo.
Macdonald, Mass.
Machen, Md.
Mackay, Ga.
Mackie, Mich.
Madden, Ind.
Matsunaga, Hawaii
Matthews, Fla.
Meeds, Wash.
Miller, Calif.
Mills, Ark.
Minish, N. J.
Mink, Hawaii
Moeller, Ohio
Monagan, Conn.
Moorhead, Pa.
Morgan, Pa.
Morris, N. M.
Morrison, La.
Moss, Calif.
Multer, N. Y.
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N. Y.
Murray, Tenn.
Natcher, Ky.
Nedzi, Mich.
Nix, Pa.
O'Brien, N. Y.
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Hara, Mich.
Olsen, Mont.
Olson, Minn.
O'Neill, Mass.
Ottinger, N. Y.
Patman, Tex.
Patten, N. J.
Pepper, Fla.
Perkins, Ky.
Philbin, Mass.
Pike, N. Y.
Powell, N. Y.
Price, Ill.
Pucinski, Ill.
Purcell, Tex.
Race, Wis.
Randall, Mo.
Redlin, N. D.
Resnick, N. Y.
Reuss, Wis.
Rhodes, Pa.
Rivers, Alaska
Roberts, Tex.
Rodino, N. J.
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Rogers, Tex.
Ronan, Ill.
Roncalio, Wyo.
Rooney, N. Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Roosevelt, Calif.
Rosenthal, N. Y.
Rostenkowski, Ill.
Roush, Ind.
Roybal, Calif.
Ryan, N. Y.
St. Germain, R. I.
St. Onge, Conn.
Scheuer, N. Y.
Schisler, Ill.
Schmidhauser, Iowa
Scott, N. C.
Secrest, Ohio
Senner, Ariz.
Shipley, Ill.
Sickles, Md.
Sikes, Fla.
Sisk, Calif.
Slack, W. Va.
Smith, Iowa
Staggers, W. Va.
Stalbaum, Wis.
Stratton, N. Y.
Stubblefield, Ky.
Sullivan, Mo.
Sweeney, Ohio
Taylor, N. C.
Tenzer, N. Y.
Thomas, Tex.
Thompson, La.
Thompson, N. J.
Thompson, Tex.
Todd, Mich.
Trimble, Ark.
Tunney, Calif.
Tuten, Ga.
Udall, Ariz.
Ullman, Ore.
Van Deerlin, Calif.
Vanik, Ohio
Vigorito, Pa.
Vivian, Mich.
Walker, N. M.
Watts, Ky.
Weltner, Ga.
White, Idaho
White, Tex.
Whitener, N. C.
Willis, La.
Wilson, C. H., Calif.
Wolff, N. Y.
Wright, Tex.
Yates, Ill.
Young, Tex.
Zablocki, Wis.

Republicans For

Ayres, Ohio
Bates, Mass.
Bow, Ohio
Broomfield, Mich.
Broyhill, N. C.
Cahill, N. J.
Cederberg, Mich.
Chamberlain, Mich.
Cleveland, N. H.
Conable, N. Y.
Conte, Mass.
Corbett, Pa.
Cramer, Fla.
Cunningham, Neb.
Curtin, Pa.
Dague, Pa.
Dwyer, N. J.
Fino, N. Y.
Frelinghuysen, N. J.
Fulton, Pa.
Goodell, N. Y.
Griffin, Mich.
Grover, N. Y.
Gubser, Calif.
Gurney, Fla.
Halpern, N. Y.
Harvey, Mich.
Horton, N. Y.
Hutchinson, Mich.
Johnson, Pa.
Keith, Mass.
King, N. Y.
Kunkel, Pa.
Lindsay, N. Y.
McClory, Ill.
McCulloch, Ohio
McDade, Pa.
McEwen, N. Y.
Martin, Mass.
Mathias, Md.
Minshall, Ohio
Moore, W. Va.
Morse, Mass.
Mosher, Ohio
O'Konski, Wis.
Pelly, Wash.
Pirnie, N. Y.
Reid, N. Y.
Reifel, S. D.
Reinecke, Calif.
Robison, N. Y.
Saylor, Pa.
Schneebeli, Pa.
Schweiker, Pa.
Smith, N. Y.
Stafford, Vt.
Stanton, Ohio
Talcott, Calif.
Teague, Calif.
Tupper, Maine
Watkins, Pa.
Whalley, Pa.
Widnall, N. J.
Wyatt, Ore.
Wydler, N. Y.

AGAINST THE BILL—115

Democrats Against

Abbitt, Va.
Abernethy, Miss.
Andrews, Geo., Ala.
Baring, Nev.
Bennett, Fla.
Burleson, Tex.
Cabell, Tex.
Casey, Tex.
Colmer, Miss.
Davis, Ga.
Dorn, S. C.
Downing, Va.
Fisher, Tex.
Flynt, Ga.
Fuqua, Fla.
Gathings, Ark.
Hagan, Ga.
Hebert, La.
Jarman, Okla.
Jones, Mo.
Kornegay, N. C.
Lennon, N. C.
Long, La.
McMillan, S. C.
Mahon, Tex.
Marsh, Va.
O'Neal, Ga.
Passman, La.
Pickle, Tex.
Poage, Tex.
Pool, Tex.
Rivers, S. C.
Satterfield, Va.
Selden, Ala.
Smith, Va.
Steed, Okla.
Stephens, Ga.
Teague, Tex.
Tuck, Va.
Waggonner, La.
Whitten, Miss.
Williams, Miss.

Republicans Against

Adair, Ind.
Anderson, Ill.
Andrews, Glenn., Ala.
Andrews, N. D.
Arends, Ill.
Ashbrook, Ohio
Battin, Mont.
Belcher, Okla.
Bell, Calif.
Berry, S. D.
Betts, Ohio
Bolton, Ohio
Bray, Ind.
Brock, Tenn.
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, Va.
Buchanan, Ala.
Burton, Utah
Byrnes, Wis.
Callaway, Ga.
Carter, Ky.
Clancy, Ohio
Clausen, Don, Calif.
Clawson, Del, Calif.
Collier, Ill.
Curtis, Mo.
Davis, Wis.
Derwinski, Ill.
Devine, Ohio
Dickinson, Ala.
Dole, Kan.
Duncan, Tenn.
Edwards, Ala.
Ellsworth, Kan.
Erlenborn, Ill.
Findley, Ill.
Ford, Gerald, Mich.
Gross, Iowa
Hall, Mo.
Halleck, Ind.
Hansen, Idaho
Harsha, Ohio
Harvey, Ind.
Hosmer, Calif.
Jonas, N. C.
Laird, Wis.
Langen, Minn.
Latta, Ohio
Lipscomb, Calif.
MacGregor, Minn.
Martin, Ala.
Martin, Neb.
May, Wash.
Michel, Ill.
Mize, Kan.
Morton, Md.
Nelsen, Minn.
Poff, Va.
Quie, Minn.
Quillen, Tenn.
Reid, Ill.
Rhodes, Ariz.
Roudebush, Ind.
Rumsfeld, Ill.
Shriver, Kan.
Skubitz, Kan.
Smith, Calif.
Springer, Ill.
Thompson, Wis.
Utt, Calif.
Walker, Miss.
Wilson, Bob, Calif.
Younger, Calif.

Recorded for but not actually voting, 0.

Recorded against but not actually voting, 0.

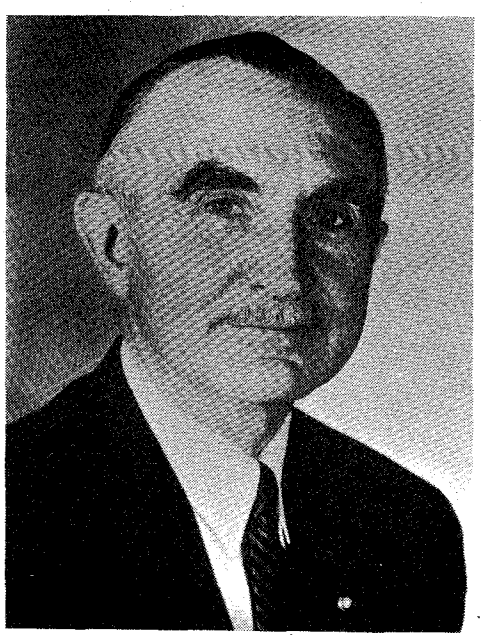
Absent or not voting, 6; Ashley of Ohio, Jones of Ala., Toll of Pa., and McCormack of Mass. (Democrats); Baldwin of Calif. and Mailliard of California (Republicans). As Speaker of the House, McCormack votes only in cases of ties. Vacancies, 1. Total membership, 435.

How Moscow Uses the 'Congressional Record'

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Do you want to know how Moscow's *Pravda*, the official news organ of the Soviet Communist party, is dealing these days with American attitudes toward the Viet Nam crisis? The issue for April 2 is an astounding eye-opener, and it makes one wonder about the naivete of Oregon's off-beat Democratic senator, Wayne Morse, in presenting the Soviets with opportunities for scoring a major propaganda triumph.

What has happened is that a number of letters to Sen. Morse from his admirers and supporters have turned up in *Pravda* as grist for the Communist "peace" propaganda mill. The letters are from all over the United States.



Sen. Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.) has inserted in the 'Congressional Record' many letters from constituents opposed to a strong U.S. policy on Viet Nam.

A man from San Francisco writes Morse that today the "supreme manifestation of patriotism is to be in opposition to the government." Someone from Detroit accuses Lyndon Johnson of following the policy of that "maniac," Goldwater, in Southeast Asia. An abject fellow from a town in Indiana writes that "if my country demands my service in this way, I would prefer imprisonment. I never thought that the day would come when I would have to say that I am ashamed of being an American. But the day has arrived."

Pravda has printed the names of Sen. Morse's correspondents. I refrain from passing them along because I assume that most of the letter writers would, on due reflection, be ashamed of the anti-American use to which their words have been put.

The Russian reporter who has used the letters to Sen. Morse is S. Vishnevsky. That Mr. Vishnevsky is a partisan distorter of the worst order is proved by the use he has made, in the same *Pravda* issue of April 2, of a column written by my colleague, William S. White. In the particular column in question Mr. White poured scorn on the handful of professionally anti-American Americans who continually run down their country, calling it "ugly America," "guilty America," and so on. But Mr. Vishnevsky, ignoring the whole thrust and meaning of the White column, quoted selected bits from it to prove that America is indeed a guilty nation.

True enough, Sen. Morse did not hand the correspondence directly to the Russian reporter. The letters may be found in the *Congressional Record*. It is one thing to carry on a campaign against White House policy as part of a Great Debate over the issue of American interest in Southeast Asia, but isn't it something else again to make presumably private letters available for use by anybody?

Can you imagine the embarrassment that would have been caused back in 1940 to patriotic members of the America First Committee if their letters to congressmen had found their first news exploitation in Dr. Goebbels' press in Berlin? We may be sure that Sen. Morse wanted his mail to make an impression on the White House, but S. Vishnevsky stresses the point that none of these letters have been published in local papers. He glories in having used them to score a clean propaganda beat.

The heading that *Pravda* uses over the Vishnevsky dispatch is a quotation from one of the letters, "I am ashamed of being an American." I am sure that many Americans, including Oregonians who voted for him, are ashamed of Sen. Morse's naivete in permitting Russians to be misled about popular feeling in the United States. The polls indicate that a majority of Americans have backed Lyndon Johnson's policy of standing by our promises to the South Vietnamese. In helping to pass along to the Russian people the palpable lie that America as a whole is "ashamed" about honoring its commitments, Sen. Morse may be doing his own cause of peace a great disservice. For wars are most likely to come when great powers misread each other's minds.

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Constitutionality in Question

Supreme Court May Soon Have To Rule on School Aid Measure

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

One of these days the Supreme Court of the United States doubtless will get around to the "Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965," and when that day comes, the members of that high tribunal will truly earn their pay.

They will have to read the act itself, all 147 pages of it; then they will have to go to the legislative history set forth in the *Congressional Record* —this ran to 161 pages in the House alone—and if they really want to do their homework, they will have to review more than 5,000 pages of hearings and reports. Members of the court could save themselves a lot of time, and do as well, by brewing a hot pot of tea and inspecting the leaves.

Many questions asked by Rep. Charles Goodell (R.-N. Y.) during the debate went unanswered.

"It is a very simple bill," said Mr. Madden of Indiana.

On the contrary, if one may take issue, the bill is as simple as astrophysics and as foggy as November in London. Members of the House wrangled for three solid days in an effort to pin down what the law will do for pupils in private and parochial schools. They never did get a definite answer. The bill was sold to the House as a bill to aid poverty-stricken children, but five of the six titles have nothing whatever to do with programs geared to poverty.

One pious object was to aid the downtrodden colored children of darkest Mississippi, but under the complicated formula set forth in the bill, the downtrodden white children of Westchester County will fare a lot better. Indeed, unless the local school boards of the Deep South sign an anti-segregation oath, Dixie's poor children won't get a nickel.

The act is full of straight-faced assurances that federal aid is never, never, never to mean federal control. The states are guaranteed some say-so in the fund distribution, and one part of the act even authorizes grants to strengthen state departments of education. But down in the fine type, authority is vested in the U.S. commissioner of education to fix so many standards, rules, criteria and regulations, that the guarantees lose most of their meaning. Perhaps it is as well this authority is vested in the commissioner, for someone will have to convert this gas to a solid if the law is to function at all.

Congressman Charles E. Goodell, a New York Republican, spent three maddening days trying to get some straight answers from his colleagues, Mr. Powell of New York and Mr. Thompson of New Jersey, on the key question of benefits for private and parochial schools. He wanted to know if funds provided under the bill could be used to employ a public-school teacher who would teach in a private school. The first day the answer was yes and no; the second day it was no and yes; the third day the colloquy went this way:

Mr. Goodell: Can the gentleman from New York answer the question? He is chairman of the committee.

Mr. Powell: The gentleman from New Jersey will answer the question.

Mr. Goodell: Does the answer of the gentleman from New Jersey carry the imprimatur of the chairman?

Mr. Powell: I am a simple parish priest.

By the time the bill passed the House, the answer was yes to special teachers, no as to general teachers, and nobody was sure as to football coaches. It would all depend.

Under the law, a parochial school could qualify to receive public aid in the form of a "language laboratory," together with funds to build a structure to house the equipment; but in some curious way never entirely explained, the equipment would have to be mobile, which was to say detachable or demountable, not permanent, and it would be only a loan. The textbooks would be on loan as well. So would the teachers of remedial English, but they might be housed in a permanent community center and the pupils would be mobile. They would arrive for detachable aid.

Would this be constitutional, asked Mr. Goodell?

"The gentleman from New Jersey," replied the gentleman from New Jersey, "has not said what is or is not constitutional."

This is to be the task, some distant day, of the nine men who make up the high court.

(Copyright 1965, *Newsday*)

How Senate Voted On Education Bill

Below is the 73-to-18 rollcall vote by which the Senate on April 9 passed the $1.34 billion-federal school aid bill. President Johnson has signed the measure into law.

FOR PASSAGE (73)

Democrats For

Anderson (N.M.)	Mansfield (Mont.)
Bartlett (Alaska)	McCarthy (Minn.)
Bass (Tenn.)	McClellan (Ark.)
Bayh (Ind.)	McGee (Wyo.)
Bible (Nev.)	McGovern (S.D.)
Brewster (Md.)	McIntyre (N.H.)
Burdick (N.D.)	McNamara (Mich.)
Byrd (W.Va.)	Metcalf (Mont.)
Cannon (Nev.)	Mondale (Minn.)
Church (Idaho)	Monroney (Okla.)
Clark (Pa.)	Montoya (N.M.)
Douglas (Ill.)	Morse (Ore.)
Ellender (La.)	Moss (Utah)
Ervin (N.C.)	Muskie (Maine)
Fulbright (Ark.)	Nelson (Wis.)
Gore (Tenn.)	Pastore (R.I.)
Gruening (Alaska)	Pell (R.I.)
Harris (Okla.)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Hart (Mich.)	Randolph (W.Va.)
Hill (Ala.)	Ribicoff (Conn.)
Inouye (Hawaii)	Smathers (Fla.)
Jackson (Wash.)	Sparkman (Ala.)
Jordan (N.C.)	Talmadge (Ga.)
Kennedy (Mass.)	Tydings (Md.)
Kennedy (N.Y.)	Williams (N.J.)
Long (Mo.)	Yarborough (Tex.)
Long (La.)	Young (Ohio)
Magnuson (Wash.)	

Republicans For

Aiken (Vt.)	Javits (N.Y.)
Allott (Colo.)	Kuchel (Calif.)
Boggs (Del.)	Miller (Iowa)
Carlson (Kan.)	Mundt (S.D.)
Case (N.J.)	Pearson (Kan.)
Cooper (Ky.)	Prouty (Vt.)
Cotton (N.H.)	Saltonstall (Mass.)
Dirksen (Ill.)	Scott (Pa.)
Fong (Hawaii)	Smith (Maine)

AGAINST PASSAGE (18)

Democrats Against

Byrd (Va.)	Holland (Fla.)
Eastland (Miss.)	Stennis (Miss.)

Republicans Against

Bennett (Utah)	Morton (Ky.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Murphy (Calif.)
Dominick (Colo.)	Simpson (Wyo.)
Fannin (Ariz.)	Thurmond (S.C.)
Hickenlooper (Iowa)	Tower (Tex.)
Hruska (Neb.)	Williams (Del.)
Jordan (Idaho)	Young (N.D.)

Not voting but paired (Senators use pairs to show positions on an issue when one or more are absent): Dodd (D-Conn.), for and Lausche (D-Ohio), against. Symington (D-Mo.), for and Robertson (D-Va.), against.

Not voting nor paired but announced for passage: Hartke (D-Ind.), Hayden (D-Ariz.), Neuberger (D-Ore.).

Liberal Jargon Is Often Very Confusing

By MORRIE RYSKIND

It's all very confusing: I can solve the daily crossword puzzle with only a minimum of effort, but the rest of the paper often baffles me completely. Though I've been speaking English all my life and had only a couple of years of Greek at high school, sometimes I think I understand the ancient tongue better. Thus, I can still quote from memory some passages from Xenophon's *Anabasis* and translate them accurately, too: whereas many a column of Walter Lippmann's, say, is as unintelligible to me as was the inscription on an Egyptian monument before the discovery of the Rosetta stone.

It may be because Attic Greek is a dead tongue and the meaning of the words cannot be altered even by our Supreme Court, while modern English is flexible and subject to change without previous notice. E.g., for hundreds of years "liberal" denoted one who fought the autocratic power of the state: today it signifies the exact opposite, and the individualist is labeled "reactionary."

Or take "moderate": when Greek philosophers preached moderation, they had a word for it and do you know what it meant? Moderation, of all things!

But when the modern liberal inveighs against excess and preaches moderation —and he hasn't been doing much of anything else lately—he's usually raining down fire and brimstone on the immoderates as he urges them to repent and be as moderate as he is. Sometimes you have to look at your scorecard to know which side he's on.

Even when he leads a demonstration in which pop bottles fly and policemen attempting to keep order are sent to the hospital, it isn't a riot but an illustration of non-violence. As long as the demonstration takes place in the middle of the street usually reserved for traffic, he remains a middle-of-the-roader. See what I mean?

And the records of the vagaries of Nelson Rockefeller are just as bewildering. When that eager candidate—the only difference between him and William Jennings Bryan is that Bryan was actually nominated—spoke recently at a meeting of New York Republicans, he was introduced by the "moderate" chairman as the man who had done the most to save the GOP from pursuing the path of Nazism, fascism and communism. And Rocky, like George Washington, did not deny that he had done all this with his little hatchet, which he used to chop down the 1964-standard-bearer.

To be fair, Barry was not mentioned by name, perhaps on the theory that you catch more flies with molasses than vinegar and the Grand Old Party needs unity badly after the scars of the last campaign. Yet I am not certain that the more than a million who contributed to elect Goldwater—and never before had a presidential campaign enlisted more than 100,000 who chipped in —are going to be wooed by being compared to Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin. Rocky may not need their money—a good bit of it was in lone one-dollar bills—but he could use their support.

Take Viet Nam—no, strike that because as sure as taxes some liberal would quote the phrase to prove I was promulgating colonialism: make it, "in the case of Viet Nam." If you're sure of what our policy is in that unhappy country, you're a better man than I am at following the course of our Ship of State. One day the President takes a fighting stance and sounds off like Cassius Clay on the eve of a title bout, and our State Department cheers his firm leadership; the following day, LBJ is smoking a peace pipe and sounds like Linus Pauling—and State cheers even louder.

The best guess is that we are conducting what the boys call "a controlled experiment." One set of bombers goes out daily to strafe Hanoi: the other set is armed only with money and drops a billion dollars at strategic points. Both groups will return with holes made by MIGs, but the important thing is to determine which of the two has 21 per cent less cavities.

That might explain why we now make use of defoliation, the mere mention of which used to send a shudder down Administration spines. If you drop a billion dollars into dense foliage, your enemy may never spot it; but clear the vegetation and he is sure to see it and realize your intentions are honorable. And figure there's more where the first billion came from, once he meets you at the bargaining table.

As I said, that's only my guess. But this summer I hope to take a course of remedial reading in liberal semantics, which should enable me to know just what the boys have in mind. Until then, alas, I fear I must remain confused.

(Copyright 1965, Los Angeles *Times*)

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REAGAN FOR GOVERNOR?—The new Democratic national committee-woman for California, Mrs. Ann Alanson, said recently that Ronald Reagan would be the most likely GOP candidate to oppose incumbent Gov. Edmund G. Brown. Brown has told friends he will definitely run again and expressed fear that if he didn't, Reagan would be the next governor of California. Some observers think Reagan will be the next governor, anyway, as Brown's popularity has dipped in recent months due to the black eye the state of California got from the "Free Speech Movement" at Berkeley.

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RED CHINA DEATHS—Some four million people have died because of the harsh life in more than 350 Chinese Communist "labor reform camps" during the past 14 years, according to the English-language China *Post* of Taipei. Quoting intelligence sources, the paper said the number represents 2.25 per cent of the 80 million who have been sent to the camps. Chinese Communist leaders say that those confined to the camps are "landlords, rich farmers, undesirable elements, anti-revolutionaries and rightists."

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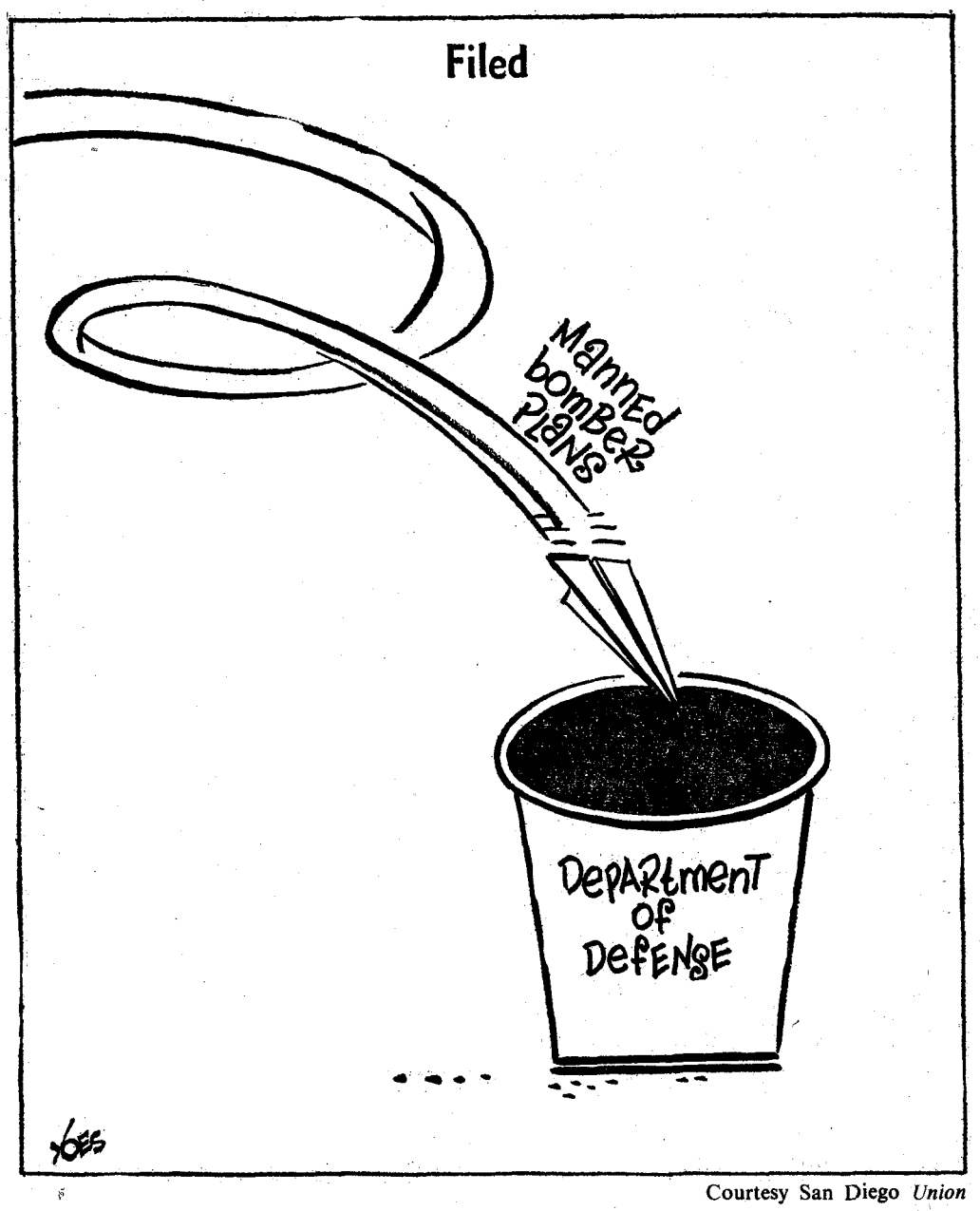

Courtesy San Diego *Union*

Congress Must Make Decisions

Defense of U.S. Is at Stake

From the San Diego *Union*

The First Article of the Constitution states that "Congress shall have the power to raise and support armies."

In recent years there has been an increasing trend on the part of the Defense Department to arrogate this power and relegate lawmakers to the simple role of appropriating money it requests.

Nowhere is this trend more evident than in the Defense Department's flat refusal to spend funds the Congress has appropriated for development of a manned bomber to replace the ancient B-52.

The secretary of defense simply insists that manned bombers as such are an obsolete concept in the missile age and too expensive to maintain. For several years he has flatly refused to spend money for development of new ones, including $52 million last year.

His stubbornness and refusal are in direct opposition to the best judgment of military men and the leaders and members of Congress. They do not think military defense is a subject with which anyone should gamble. They ask for a versatile, flexible force to include manned bombers.

Congress has a reason to be alarmed. The proposed defense budget would add to some missile strength, but eliminate 45 of the sub-sonic B-52s. B-47s are being scrapped. As a result, by the middle of the next year, the United States would have 630 manned bombers, only 80 of them the supersonic B-58s. For all practical purposes the United States would not have a first-line bomber in the 1970s.

The aircraft programs underway do not include the heavy bomber prototypes that could replace the B-52. Appropriations for the tri-sonic RS-70 have been cut to relegate it to the research-in-technology category. The F-111, formerly the TFX, is a lighter and different type of aircraft. The super-secret A-11 reconnaissance airplane does not fit the criteria of heavy-bomber performance set by the Air Force.

For the first time in the history of the Air Corps or the Air Force there are no major new offensive weapons or delivery systems in active development.

This year a Senate committee has voted $83 million for pursuing a manned bomber development program, following a suggestion from the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The House has indicated it is favorable. The secretary of defense says he is not.

Again the essential issue has arisen. Who shall make the decision, the legislative body or an administrator?

Unless the Congress lives up to its constitutional obligation on defense now, its voice will be further eroded and the day will come when it will have no say at all.

Joint Chiefs Recommend Destroying No. Viet Nam's Military Capability

From the Allen-Scott Report

Suspended undecided over President Johnson's nationwide broadcast on the intensifying Viet Nam conflict was a series of stark recommendations by the Joint Chiefs of Staff calling for the destruction of North Viet Nam's entire military capability.

The Pentagon leaders contend such drastic action is urgently necessary to avert a "possible disaster of catastrophic proportions."

As a first step, the Joint Chiefs want the powerful 7th Fleet to wipe out the Communists' air force and main bases. North Viet Nam has an estimated 127 Russian MIG fighters operating principally from nine airfields in the Hanoi-Haiphone area.

The 7th Fleet has around 350 combat planes of various types.

There is no indication when and what the President will do about the Joint Chiefs' stringent proposals. Ambassador Maxwell Taylor returned to Saigon with no clue. The policy of "controlled" bombing of Washington-approved targets is still in effect.

Other bare-knuckle recommendations of the Joint Chiefs are:

• Immobilizing rail lines and highways leading into North Viet Nam from China.

• Bombing the marshalling yards at Hanoi and docking facilities at Haiphong,principal North Viet Nam port.

• Blasting factories and other industrial installations in the Hanoi-Haiphong area.

• Naval blockade of North Viet Nam's coast to bar further Soviet arms shipments, particularly SAM anti-aircraft missiles.

The Joint Chiefs are stressing that these deadly missiles, once installed and manned, will make U.S. air attacks prohibitively costly.

Intelligence has reported there are strong indications shipments of SAMs have arrived in North Viet Nam. In the past several weeks three Russian cargo vessels—Malakhov, Kurgan and Ishma—unloaded numerous heavy crates similar to those in which SAMs and MIG-21s were transported to Cuba.

The 7th Fleet is maintaining a close scrutiny of all Red shipping arriving in North Viet Nam. The Joint Chiefs are vigorously urging this "surveillance" be expanded to an outright blockade.

So far, the President has shied from that on the ground it would escalate the conflict and bring in Red China. This view has the full backing of the State Department, but is challenged by the Joint Chiefs on the contention that Peking "talks tough but treads softly."

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NATIONAL DISGRACE—New York *Times* architectural critic Ada Louise Huxtable recently delivered a scathing blast at those responsible for the new Sam Rayburn House Office Building in Washington: "Architecturally, the Rayburn Building is a national disgrace. Its defects range from a profligate mishandling of 50 acres of space to elephantine esthetic banality at record costs . . . It is quite possible that this is the worst building for the money in the history of the construction art. It stuns by sheer mass and boring bulk. Only 15 per cent of its space is devoted to the offices and hearing rooms for which it was erected."

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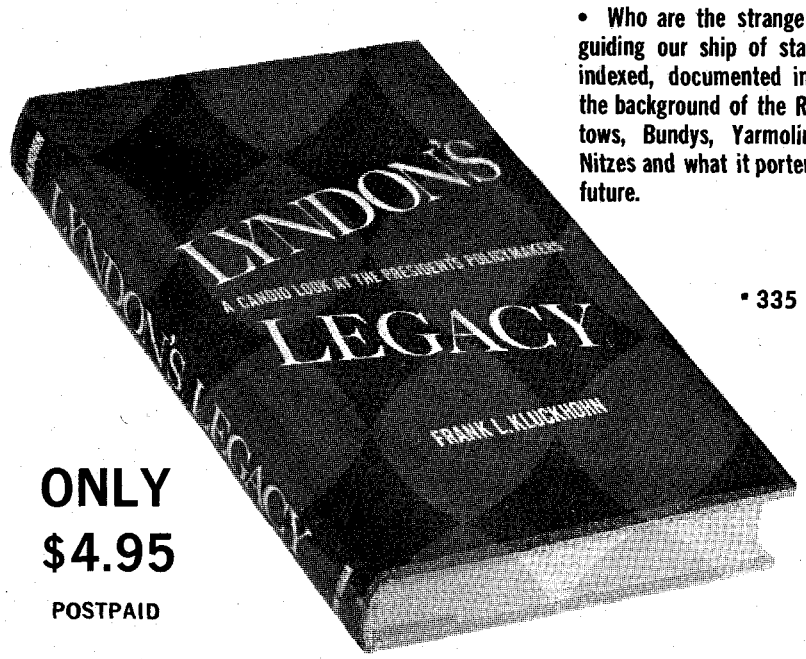

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Congress Should Take a Long Look at SNCC

From the Cincinnati *Enquirer*

It is an easy matter to fall into the habit of condemning organizations that champion unpopular causes—regardless of the sincerity, the soundness and the complete honesty of their sponsors.

It is just as easy to fall into the habit of condoning organizations that happen to latch onto popular causes—regardless of the unsoundness, the irresponsibility and the questionable motives of their sponsors.

The civil rights crusade is, in most quarters, a generally popular cause. Every organization, consequently, that professes an interest in advancing the cause of civil rights manages to enlist a sizable measure of popular support, whether it deserves it or not. To condemn such organizations becomes perilous: It is tantamount, in the eyes of the unthinking, to condemning the civil rights cause itself.

Yet there is at least one organization within the civil rights movement that deserves a careful, systematic inquiry by a congressional committee, comparable to the one being undertaken in connection with the Ku Klux Klan. The organization is one about which we have spoken on numerous previous occasions in this space—the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee.

The Washington columnists, Rowland Evans and Robert Novak—both of whom are far cries from witch-hunters or reactionaries—have devoted several recent columns to SNCC and its leadership. In one, Messrs. Evans and Novak spoke of the strong SNCC challenge for control of the civil rights movement in Selma, Ala. In another, they spoke of SNCC's efforts to pursue an irreconcilable line in pushing the President's voting rights program through Congress.

Every other civil rights organization, they reported, was generally in accord with the President's program with relatively minor amendments. But SNCC wanted to go farther—so far, in fact, as to frustrate any hope of congressional action. "It has been characteristic of SNCC," said Messrs. Evans and Novak, "to put forth proposals that are sure to be rejected, with the purpose of aggravating Negro discontents and taking control of the civil rights movement."

In an earlier analysis, they speculated on the reasons for SNCC's contrariness: "There is no doubt whatever that SNCC is substantially infiltrated by beatniks, left-wing revolutionaries and—worst of all—by Communists."

We think it will strike most Americans that the civil rights debate is so fraught with danger—even when both sides are dominated by a constructive spirit of good will—that there is scant room for incursions by the irresponsible and the malevolent.

Yet an irresponsible civil rights leader, in many circumstances, can muster a wider degree of public support than those who work constructively toward the attainment of legitimate, constructive goals.

The irresponsible civil rights leader can be like the irresponsible labor leader who cries for what he knows he can never get. Yet the uninitiated in the ranks of the movement are tempted too often to follow the leader who makes the wildest promises rather than the one who takes a responsible course.

Since its creation in 1960, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee has been a magnet for all the elements described by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak.

Its ranks have included some who have been positively identified as members of the Communist party.

It includes others who have been officeholders in the so-called Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

It includes still others who felt moved to picket in protest against President Kennedy's demand that Soviet offensive missiles be removed from Fidel Castro's Cuba.

It includes another who went so far as to visit Communist China to denounce the United States for its "barbarism being committed in the name of our people"—during the Korean war—barbarism that included the old refrain about germ warfare.

All but the most obsessed must ask themselves what interest individuals like these have in an amicable, workable solution to the question of voting rights. Is their support of SNCC aimed at solving problems and reducing tensions or at creating problems and aggravating tensions?

If Congress can investigate the Ku Klux Klan—and we applaud its decision to do so—it can also investigate SNCC. The Klan, after all, for all its insidiousness, is on the losing side. SNCC, on the other hand, is on the winning side.

But the victory of the civil rights movement can be turned into disaster if SNCC leaders continue to grow in influence.

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OUR GREATEST THREAT today is not fallout—but sellout.

Forman Refuses to Repudiate Reds

Three times on the March 28 CBS radio and television show "Face the Nation" James Forman, executive secretary of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, was given an opportunity to repudiate the Communist involvement in civil rights; three times he refused. The following is the relevant portion of the transcript of that show without any deletions or additions. The questioner is Paul Niven of CBS News.

MR. NIVEN: Mr. Forman, a number of civil rights leaders, when asked about the Communist problem, say, well, when people come along and they share our goals and they will work under our rules for our objectives, we accept them, no matter who they are.

I would like to ask you this question: Do you think that disciplined American Communists really want to help the Negro attain freedom, are really interested in the stated goals of the civil rights groups, or do they merely want to exacerbate the problem and create chaos?

MR. FORMAN: Well, I would like to answer that question in another way, you see, because one of our—you know, we have had—I won't mention the various columnists who have been most adamant on this particular point—but I take it we do have to look into the whole history of what people are saying and not—well, it is very difficult for me to talk without naming some columnists. I am really thinking of Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, who have something in today's paper, and had something about three or four days ago, about SNCC was Communist-infiltrated.

Now, I noticed that for instance, these are the same columnists who back in January said that we went to Guinea, on an African trip and refused and completely bypassed the State Department and then didn't tell them, you know, about the conversations that we had.

Now, my position is, you know, I don't think that the State Department, you know, demands, or that any citizen should submit to immediately coming by the State Department and reporting to them, you know, what you did abroad.

I don't know if you understand what I am saying, maybe it is very confused. But my position is that these fellows, you know, are deliberately misrepresenting the movement.

MR. NIVEN: In line with the question, Mr. Forman,—

MR. FORMAN: Well, I don't know, you see, I am—one of the things that I think—I have their article right in front of me, and after they make this charge, then they go on and talk about what we—handed Dr. King an ultimatum in Selma that if he didn't march we would lead the march. And that of course, is not true, I mean, because we didn't have any contact with Dr. King that day, we talked to him the night before, and we were very solid in the meeting, and it was a meeting between the staff primarily.

MR. NIVEN: Mr. Forman, may I repeat my question?

Do you think Communists really want to solve civil rights problems or to aggravate and exacerbate them?

MR. FORMAN: The reason, you see—the reason I am not answering that question—and I am not refusing to answer the question—I have an opinion on it, but you see, I want to try to get at some, what I think is some good causes. You see, because what happens is that being involved in the protest movement, you know, and when you are really working for what you feel are some basic objectives and basic rightness of certain wrongs, then people begin to engage in a certain witch hunt, and they try to discredit what you do by raising these questions. You see, I am not at all accusing you of doing that, but I am saying by making these charges that the thing is Communist-dominated, it tends—it tries to discredit it, like this morning the Klan said that the killing of the Reverend Reeb and this lady was a Communist plot.

MR. NIVEN: Are these charges true?

MR. FORMAN: No, these charges are not true.

MR. NIVEN: They are false?

MR. FORMAN: The charges are false. But the point is, on the other hand—you see, that we cannot accede—you know, we cannot accede to answering these questions, because we know what they are intended to do. Do you understand what I am saying? Look, I am saying that if we took our time to answer all the questions that are raised about the Communists are doing this, and the Communists are doing that, even the Communists killing Mrs. Liuzzo and the Reverend Reeb, that we are going to slow down our movement, we know what the basic injustices are. The people in Mississippi know that they get $2 and $3 a day on Eastland's plantation, and they know that that's not right, we know about the police business over our head, we don't need anybody to tell us that, that comes out of our own experience, and we know that—

MR. NIVEN: Mr. Forman, I am sorry, that's all the time we have.

James Forman, executive secretary of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

Clean Bill of Health for NIH?

From the Richmond *News Leader*

Because the National Institutes of Health so often have proved a handy target for critics of waste in the federal government, the Administration last year set a 13-member panel to work investigating the true worth of the NIH. The panel now has made its report: The money spent by the NIH, the panel says, is a "sound investment in the public interest" that results in quality research. Outside of a few recommendations for improving the efficiency of the NIH, the panel overwhelmingly approves its work. Supporters of the institutes doubtless will interpret this report to mean that the NIH stands absolved of all charges against it.

However, that is not the case. There still remains room for a great deal of skeptical criticism of the NIH, especially at a time when federal budgets show pyramiding deficits. The NIH, as a child of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, is responsible for the expenditure of about $1 billion a year. One-third of this sum is spent in financial grants for scientific research into such problems as American drinking practices and the role of the brain in male reproduction. The titles given these studies have provided much ammunition for short-fused congressmen in the past to use in their losing battle against increased federal outlays.

Yet both the panel of experts and the congressional critics of the NIH have overlooked more valid grounds for criticism. Nowhere in the Constitution is Congress given the power to appropriate money to finance a study into the aging of the house fly, however beneficial the results of such a study might be to science.

Obviously, when the NIH was established a decade ago, with an $81 million initial appropriation, members of Congress believed it their prerogative, under the general welfare clause, to approve a federally-financed venture into scientific research. However, the results of this venture have reached farther than the taxpayers' pocketbook in recent years: The billions used to finance these grants have set some serious trends into motion. To enter the field of research, many professors have virtually abandoned their pupils and their classrooms to less able assistants. The sheer abundance of NIH grants also has been responsible, at least in part, for a shift in emphasis away from clinical medicine to laboratory research.

It is not for a layman to say whether the funds spent by the NIH have been spent well or not, regardless of indications that often these funds have financed similar projects and duplicate surveys. Yet a layman who may concede the necessity for studies into the effects of ant venom and into what happens if one is deprived of dreams, still has reason to ask if these studies might not be more properly financed from private sources than from the public purse.

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Stormy House Battle Ahead

LBJ's Policy of Aiding Unfriendly Nations Receives Bipartisan Congressional Blast

From the Allen-Scott Report

President Johnson's controversial policy of aiding the African nations which are deliberately trying to destroy U.S.-supported governments in the Congo and elsewhere is headed for its severest test in Congress.

Advance warning of the mounting fury of this foreign policy storm is indicated by the no-holds-barred grilling Assistant Secretary of State G. Mennen Williams received from a bipartisan group of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

The legislators, headed by Representatives Wayne Hays (D.-O.), Edna Kelly (D.-N.Y.), and H.R. Gross (R.-Ia.), not only lashed out at U.S. aid to Algeria, Ghana, Yemen, the United Arab Republic and Tanzania, but also denounced the Administration's ostrich-like attitude toward Communist infiltration in Africa.

They let go their blistering fire when Williams attempted to justify continuing the $200-million program for Africa on the ground that no Communist satellite has been established there since the United States initiated its aid.

"Is there something else you can call some of these countries in the light of what happened in Tanzania, Algeria and Kenya, and not call their governments Communist satellites?" asked Mrs. Kelly. "In most of these countries the Communists, if they haven't openly taken control, can take over at a moment's notice if they so desire. They kicked us out of Tanzania."

"I think there are countries where the Communists have quite a bit of influence," replied Williams, "but I don't think there is any one where their influence predominates or where the Africans don't maintain their independence of action."

"Then you don't know what is going on in most of these countries," declared Mrs. Kelly. "How about Algeria? Ben Bella follows Moscow's line on everything. He is receiving all the arms he wants from both Moscow and Peking, and you say Algeria isn't a Communist satellite?"

When Williams failed to explain further, Rep. Frances Bolton (R.-O), demanded to know, "Where do you put Ghana?"

"In Ghana there is a very heavy Communist influence, but I still don't think that . . . . ," replied the perspiring Williams, his voice dropping so low the rest of his answer was inaudible.

"You wouldn't call Ghana a Communist satellite?" retorted Mrs. Bolton. "Then what about Tanzania? That country must certainly be considered either in the Chinese Communist or Soviet orbit."

"No," Williams replied.

"Both of these countries are Communist," countered Mrs. Kelly. "The facts are clear for anybody who wants to look at them. I don't care what you call them, but they are Communist satellites and we ought to recognize this. Otherwise, the only ones being fooled by this deception are ourselves."

Secretary Williams then tried to shift the discussion to the Congo, declaring:

"I believe our big problem in Africa at the moment is not communism but the cloud we are under because of the Congo operations."

"If 'Soapy' keeps talking like that, there won't be any foreign aid bill," chimed in Rep. Wayne Hays. "He has just convinced me I should vote against the entire bill. And I want to warn every freshman congressman in this room that you'd better think twice before voting for this aid bill. Most of you were elected with less than a five per cent margin, and many voters are going to think twice about supporting you if you vote aid to those Communist countries."

Rep. Gross then began hammering away at the aid programs for Egypt and Algeria. "Do you think we should be giving money to nations like Egypt and Algeria, which are using the funds to defeat our purpose in the world?" asked Gross.

"I think we have to look at what our main overall interest is and make a decision on that basis," answered Williams. "Sometimes that requires us to do things which, viewed from one particular angle, don't look advantageous to us."

"What has the overall view got to do with it, as long as those Communist countries are going into the Congo today, supplying them with arms, and Lord only knows what else, to create turmoil, butchery and savagery?" erupted Gross. "This is a serious situation and we have no business supporting the countries doing this."

"There is no question this is serious," said Williams. "But I think even greater problems are also involved; like letting these countries develop the type of government they want, and our overall relations with the Soviet Union."

"That policy just doesn't make sense," thundered Gross. "If we are supporting Tshombe, which is the right thing to do, why are we giving so much as a thin dime to Algeria, Egypt, or any other country that is trying to destroy him?"

"We must keep in contact with these countries through our aid program," explained Williams.

"You are helping to finance a Communist take-over of Africa?" shot back Gross. "The American people will never support a program that does that."

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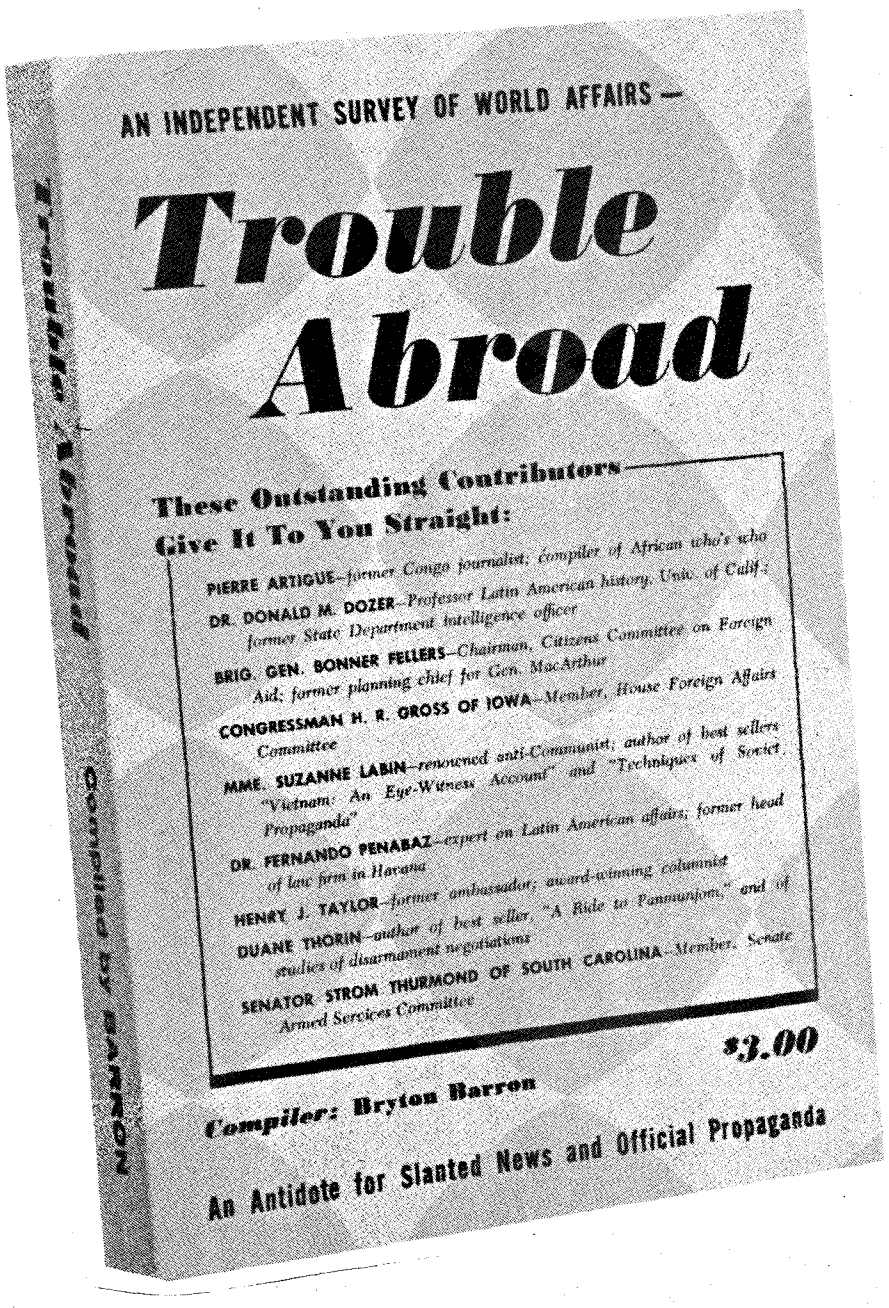
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Bunker Wrong Envoy to Indonesia

From the Rockford (Ill.) *Morning Star*

Relations between the United States and Indonesia had deteriorated to such an extent that President Johnson felt he had to dispatch a special envoy to discuss the problem with Indonesian President Sukarno.

But President Johnson's choice for the mission leaves much to be desired if the protection of American interests in Indonesia is one of the primary objectives of an eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation.

The U.S. envoy is Ellsworth Bunker, ambassador to the Organization of American States, who served as mediator in the Dutch-Indonesian dispute over West New Guinea some 30 months ago.

It was Bunker who engineered the agreement to hand over West New Guinea to Indonesia in exchange for a worthless promise to the Dutch that Sukarno would grant free elections some time before 1969.

All that time, Sukarno threatened to take over West New Guinea by force if the territory was not handed to him on a platter. He got what he wanted with an assist from Bunker and the United States.

There isn't a great deal left for Bunker to give away to Indonesia this time. Sukarno already has seized control of American oil companies, rubber plantations and factories. He has forced the U.S. Information Agency to cease operations and has harassed U.S. embassy personnel to the breaking point.

Bunker's first talks with Sukarno were somewhat less than productive. They were scheduled to meet again for what would appear to be a continuation of an exercise in futility.

Taxpayers Spend $20 Billion Filling Out Federal Forms

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

Tempers were short and nerves frazzled as Americans rich and poor toiled over their Forms 1040, pencils in hand, scratch pads at the ready.

As midnight, April 15, drew ever closer, Rep. Richard Poff, Virginia Republican, reported on the paperwork jungle in which all Americans are now captives.

"The Internal Revenue Service is the world's largest paperwork agency, annually processing more than 400 million tax forms," he said. "Each year it costs industry and the public $20 billion to complete government reports, and it costs the taxpayer an additional $7 billion to underwrite the cost of the federal government of processing its own paperwork."

The various federal agencies now require of the public more than one billion reports each year. This comes down to slightly more than five for every man, woman and child in the nation. The Government Printing Office turns out two and a quarter billion forms of various kinds every 12 months, or eleven for every American.

There is little doubt that it is the small businessman who suffers most. A congressional committee has estimated that government paperwork can take up to 35 per cent of a small businessman's time, which otherwise might be spent in salvaging a faltering enterprise or turning a marginal operation into a profit-making one.

Although large corporations are better equipped to cope with the demands of government bureaucrats, Rep. Poff offered official statistics to demonstrate the immensity of the situation. A typical firm during 1963 had to handle 2,700 different types of forms, with more than 500,000 copies to be filled out for the various agencies of the local, state and federal governments.

In spite of these uncontested statistics federal bureaucrats have shown little concern over the burden they annually impose on the American people. An official of the Internal Revenue Service, for instance, assured congressmen that most taxpayers could complete Form 1040 in 20 minutes. The majority of taxpayers contacted by the committee said 20 hours would be closer to the truth.

A spokesman for the Department of Labor testified that a wages and hours form could be completed in 36 minutes; an industry spokesman said it required 40 hours. It is obvious, says Rep. Poff, that "many of these agencies not only do not know the cost to the public in filling out form after form, but they do not want to know."

Note: The authoritative Tax Foundation, a private group, has devised a simple rule of thumb by which you can figure out how much you pay in hidden federal taxes. For every dollar on your federal income tax, you pay another $1.29 in federal taxes, most of them hidden.

For instance, if your weekly income tax deduction is $15, you pay another $18 weekly in various other federal levies. Hence your total federal tax comes to $33.

Some of the taxes can be seen. These include the Social Security levies and the 10 per cent "luxury" taxes tacked on to the cost of cosmetics and handbags. A great many others are hidden, added somewhere along the line to manufacturers' prices of a wide variety of goods. Seen and unseen, they add up to one-fifth more than your income tax.

During 1965, for instance, the federal government expects to take in $10.8 billion in excise taxes on everything from playing cards to jet fuel, from automobiles to cigarets, from liquor to firearms, from mechanical pencils to fishing rods.

* * *

Twenty thousand delegates from both sides of the Iron Curtain will meet in Algiers in late July for an eleven-day "hate America" orgy.

They will make up the Kremlin-controlled 9th World Youth Festival and at least 500 Americans are expected to be on hand. Arrangements for this country's delegation are being made by the American Youth Festival Committee, with offices on New York's lower Fifth Avenue.

The committee's chairman is Jeff Segal, a founder of the W.E.B. Du-Bois Clubs of America, a group that FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has said is Communist-controlled. The honorary chairman is Noel Day, a Boston leftist who ran unsuccessfully for Congress last fall.

American youngsters of almost every political persuasion have been urged not to attend the Algerian bash. The leaders of the Young Republican and Young Democratic National Federations have condemned the festival as Communist-sponsored and Communist-controlled. Even the ultra-liberal National Student Assn. has condemned the meeting as a vehicle for Communist propaganda.

Funds for the Algerian festival are funneled through two international Communist fronts—the World Federation of Democratic Youth, with headquarters in Budapest, and the International Union of Students, located in Prague.

The upcoming conference is expected to cost the Kremlin more than $30 million. Reviewing the history of past festivals, Rep. Jed Johnson (D.-Okla.) suggested recently that the Communists have received their money's worth:

"The first of these festivals was held in Prague in 1947. Since that time they have been held consecutively in Budapest, East Berlin, Bucharest, Warsaw, Moscow, Vienna and the last one in Helsinki in 1962. It is instructive to note that each event has reflected the mirror image of Soviet foreign policy, from the hard-line approach under Stalin to increasingly persistent overtures to the unaligned nations of the world. The festival organizers credit the 1955 Warsaw festival with having weakened the Polish population's political resistance to the Soviet presence in that country."

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

"Too many members of the House are appendages of the White House and do whatever the master becks and calls."—Rep. Gerald Ford (R.-Mich.)

Otepka's Friends

By SEN. CARL CURTIS (R.-Neb.)

A State Department security officer with an outstanding record has been ordered to report to El Paso, Tex., where he will be expected to ring doorbells in routine inquiries about qualifications of job applicants. The department previously has had no investigator located in El Paso. This is the penalty for having come to the support of Otto Otepka who was fired by the department in November of 1963 for responding to requests of a Senate committee for information concerning the State Department's security program. The recently reassigned man is the seventh department security officer, in addition to Otepka, to be penalized for resisting loose security methods in the department and trying to improve them.

Federal Textbooks

By REP. JOHN BYRNES (R.-Wis.)

The heart of the educational process is the kind of textbooks used; it is an area where we should be particularly careful not to give the federal government an opportunity to get its nose under the tent. Yet this bill provides a $100 million annual subsidy for textbooks. How long will the federal government provide such subsidy without injecting itself into the subject matter of the texts? If there is any doubt of the intent of this bill, the provision in Title III for the establishment of 100 per cent federally financed "model schools" at the local level should end it. This title would permit the U.S. commissioner of education, through his powers of approval, to establish a separate system of schools, under the pretext of establishing special educational centers.

Voting Bill

By REP. JACK EDWARDS (R.-Ala.)

It is obvious that a voting bill of some kind is going through Congress this month; and, consequently, we have attempted to get the most reasonable bill possible. Republican congressmen from all parts of the country, all concerned with the errors in the Johnson bill, have joined with the new Southern Republicans in a series of conferences with the aim of doing away with the objectionable parts of the President's bill. The result is a new Republican bill which was introduced April 5 by Gerald Ford, the minority leader, and Bill McCulloch, ranking Republican on the House Judiciary Committee. This bill guarantees voting rights while at the same time it preserves the state right to establish reasonable voting qualifications. It applies to all states, not just the South. The effort represents a major constructive Republican program, and it indicates the truly national character of the Republican party. We are working for its full consideration in the Congress. Most assuredly this bill is not perfect, but it certainly is better than the unconstitutional bill proposed by the President.

Where's the Challenge?

Indian Affairs

By SEN. MIKE MONRONEY (D.-Okla.)

The 100 senators with staff assistants and the 435 members of the House of Representatives and their assistants total fewer than the number required to run the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The cost of operating the entire Congress, $89 million—members' and staff assistants' salaries and other associated expenses, exclusive of building costs—totals less than the cost of the federal Fish and Wildlife Service, $110 million.

Vietnamese Policy

By SEN. JOHN TOWER (R.-Tex.)

Because the President is under such pressure in Viet Nam, I believe it is incumbent upon us to lend all the support necessary to assure him that the great majority of the American people are behind a firm policy in Viet Nam, and indeed, all through the world. Frankly, I believe the President received some bad advice in the early days of the Viet Nam conflict. I think we delayed for too long the establisnment there that might, and I believe will, lead to peace and the establishment of a stable, friendly government in South Viet Nam. If you will remember there was a great hue and cry among a lot of people less than a year ago to the effect that anything less than a timid policy in Viet Nam would precipitate China's entry into the war on a grand scale, and eventual nuclear war. Some of us said this was not true, and that a firm policy then would mean a vast saving of lives at a later date. Eventually, the Administration adopted this policy, and while I think it was later than it should have been, I welcome it and give it my support. I hope it is continued until the North Vietnamese decide they have had enough. I hope all Americans will support the President in this.

Federal Python

By REP. CATHERINE MAY (R.-Wash.)

The coils of the federal python are tightening—around the states and localities. The story goes: Spend, increase the national debt, add to the already colossal federal payroll, and don't stop until every single American is forced to rely on the federal government for either his life, liberty or happiness.

Reds Use Buddhists in South Viet Nam

By REP. WILLIAM G. BRAY (R.-Ind.)

People have frequently asked, "is communism a religion?"

More recently they have asked, "Is communism using religion?"

It is true that the zealous dedication which is demanded of Communist party members is similar to the type of devout worship of the followers of many religions. In fact, Communists are more like the fanatics of some religious sects who would impose their beliefs on all others.

Of interest today is the way in which some Communist leaders have attempted to use religious leaders and movements for their own purposes. The involvement of various Buddhist groups in the politics of South Viet Nam is a case in point.

It was Buddhist agitation and charges of religious persecution which paved the way for the downfall of Premier Ngo Dinh Diem. Whatever his other faults, Diem had been a stable leader of South Viet Nam, and a steadfast friend of the United States. The charge that he showed favoritism to other Catholics hastened his overthrow and subsequent assassination.

However sincere the motives of some Buddhist leaders in South Viet Nam, it is obvious that they are misguided at best and are more likely directed by Communist leaders in Hanoi.

Although the Buddhist religion commands as its adherents only a very small fraction of the population of North Viet Nam, the Hanoi Communists have made a strong effort to exert leadership in Buddhist movements in Laos, Cambodia and South Viet Nam. The Buddhists in South Viet Nam often have been active collaborators with Viet Cong Communist rebels.

Using religion for political subversion is not a new technique. Centuries ago China used Buddhism to infiltrate Mongolia.

Although people consider Buddhism as one religion with many millions of followers, it actually has numerous sects which vary profoundly in their beliefs, their structure and their involvement in practical affairs.

Russia also has used the church in its aggressive activities, and with some success. Although the Communist philosophy is obviously hostile to Christianity, the head of the Russian Church in 1942 described Stalin as the "divinely anointed leader of our armed and cultural forces." His successor expressed to Stalin the feeling of real love, gratitude, and inspiration which he and the Church derived from the Soviet dictator.

It is unfortunate that we learn so many lessons so late. Too late we have realized the stabilizing influence of Premier Diem of South Viet Nam. One of those in the best position to judge Diem and his regime was Lt. Gen. Samuel Williams, chief U.S. military advisor in South Viet Nam from 1955 to 1960. He said Diem's overthrow and assassination was "the most outstanding mistake in the international field since the debacle of the Bay of Pigs."

Our lack of understanding of the history of many nations and of the frequently repeated patterns of aggression and deception have caused us many foreign policy failures in the past. It is still to be hoped that we have learned sufficiently from these mistakes not to make them again.

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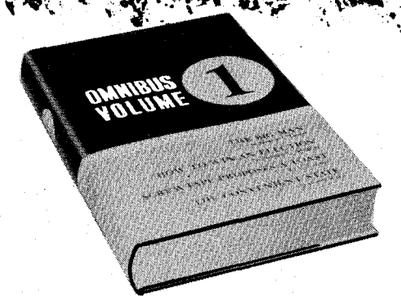

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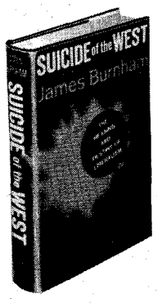

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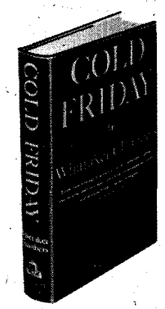

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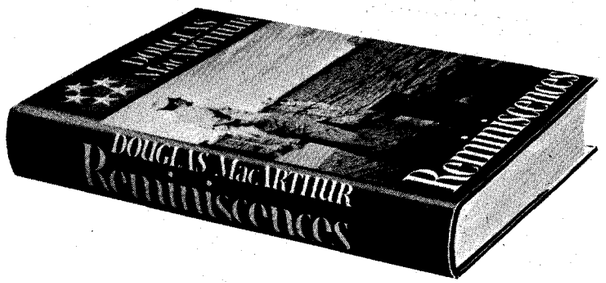

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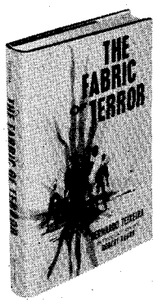

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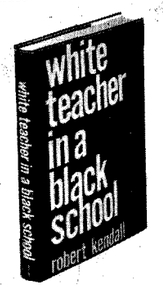

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